ROYAL PATRONAGE OF BUDDHISM IN ANCIENT INDIA

KANAI LAL HAZRA

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Dedicated to the
Sacred Memory of the Departed Soul of My Elder Brother

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Professor of History, Maharaja Manindra Chandra College, Calcutta.

FOREWORD

The work to which I have the privilege to write this foreword presents on a very extensive canvas an account of the growth of Buddhism through long centuries and the part that royalty had played in its propagation. In fact the religion preached by Gautama Buddha was a simple, soul touching tenet which could be easily realised by the commonfolk of the day. But strangely enough the call of the redeemer who had dedicated himself to alleviate the worldly sufferings of all created beings did not fail to appeal to the royal personages, who are normally not supposed to suffer from the maladies of want and environment. The two most powerful potentates contemporary with the master, Prasenajit of Kosala and Ajatasatru of Magadha had laid themselves before the Buddha in order to share his blessings along with the run of common devotees assembled round the fountain of compassion. Thus Buddha was raised to the position of a Chakravarti far above the ordinary potentates of the mundane world, whose command was to establish the rule of dharma over the entire universe. And it is no wonder to find that kings and princes who could realise the import of the teachings of the Master readily adopted a subordinate position and undertook to discharge his own duties and responsibilities to the upholding and propagation of the great message of dhamma. Thus in this Chakravarti Kshetra covering the whole earth or even beyond, large number of kings and princes belonging to nations and races of diverse regions and countries had zealously undertaken to disseminate the teachings of the Master by themselves adopting the way of life prescribed in the doctrine and waxing patronage to the propagation of the creed in a number of ways. It is indeed quite surprising to find how powerful rulers could come under the influence of the preachings of Buddha through the profundity of the appeal that those doctrines did exert and as a consequence dedicated themselves wholeheartedly to bring the message of the Master to the threshold of the subjects under their rule or even beyond their own kingdom.

When Prasenajit publicly subordinated himself to Buddha, Ajatasatru made extensive arrangements for the safe and comfortable sojourn of the Master in his capital at Rajagriha. Later when Buddha was no longer in the world of the living, the stupas built to shelter the relics of the Master came to be looked upon as the celestial mansions of the Chakravarti and those came to serve as the centre of all religious activities of the followers of Buddha. In the train of rulers who had made all out efforts to carry the message of Buddha not only over his vast empire but had also sent monks and messengers to brother rulers of distant countries After the endeavours of Asoka mention can be made of the Indo-Greek rulers like Menander, Indo-Scythians like Maues, and Azes, etc., the imperial Kushana ruler Kanishka and the like who contributed in an extremely forthright and liberal way to make Buddhism a widespread, popular and effective means for social, moral and spiritual uplift of mankind. Buddhism thus became a way of life, source of inspiration and a fountain of moral and spiritual benediction to countless masses of humanity. The progress of Buddhism throughout the centuries in strides of immeasurable dimensions can well be held as unprecedented in all human history. This progress was made not through compulsion, not through war, violence or allurement but through the projection of divine illumination revealed in the life and teachings of the Master which came as a beacon light inviting people to dip in this deep reservoir of love, compassion, piety and knowledge.

The saga of this spread of Buddhism during the early phase of its propagation which formed the background of its spilling over the entire Asiatic continent in later days is well worth a deep and analytical study as has been attempted in this very well written work by Dr. K.L. Hazra in whom I find a student of mine coming to maturity in scholarly attainment. He has significantly caught the spirit of this unusual phenomenon of how a prince who had renounced all his worldly attachments and belongings and who had emerged from a remote and obscure corner of India, could create an effulgence to engulf a surging mass of humanity over wide area through the centuries. His survey of this movement spreads like a kaleidoscopic pattern revealing how this simple, unostentatious life and teachings of a monk could influence and turn the lives of mighty rulers. Along the passage of time royal individuals came and went, dynasties crumbled and were lost in oblivion but the message of Buddha gained in stature and dimension through the endeavours of those royal personages who contributed in great measures to the growth of Buddhism attaining increasing celebrity and wider aplomb.

It is well known that there is no written account from which this phenomenon of spread of Buddhism over centuries can be obtained. But the fact is there, in an unassailable measure. Dr. Hazra in these pages has made a commendable effort to trace all material from every discernible source to lay bare the romance of this wonderful phenomenon in an extremely readable manner. He has easy access to obscure canonical and also non-canonical texts and myriads of other literary material. He has also taken care to shift the archaeological material, mainly inscriptions bearing on the import of Buddhism and the patronage it received from royal and imperial sources.

It is indeed interesting to persue the chronological arrangement of the royal dynasties from the time of Buddha till the end of his period at the close of the rule of the Gupta emperors and the author has shown in a highly objective manner the measures taken by individual rulers in the attainment of their objects of serving the cause of Buddhism. Dr. Hazra undoubtedly deserves due acclaim and unreserved praise for the excellent dissertation he has presented revealing this interesting aspect of the spread of Buddhism which has come to be one of the most abiding treasures of human heritage.

Kalyan Kumar Ganguly

PREFACE

A work like the History of Buddhism under royal patronage in ancient India in undoubtedly of great importance to the students and scholars who are evincing keen interest at present in the study of Buddhism and Buddhist culture. It is indeed a desideratum of all persons interested in the study of Indology to have such a book based on a close study of the contemporary religious and secular literary works as well as archaeological data together with the Chinese and Tibetan documents bearing on the subject. There were various factors that fostered the growth of Buddhism and helped the widespread propagation of the religion in India and abroad. But it is an undeniable fact that like other religions of the world, Buddhism owed much of its expansion to the patronage of several royal dynasties of India extended to the religion for its welfare and progress. In this book an attempt has been made to exhibit how far royal patronage operated to aid the spread of Buddhism in India from the period of the Buddha's ministration to that of the extinction of the Gupta dynasty. It presents from historical perspective a chronological account of the activities of kings and clans who showered their patronage and support as a result of which Buddhism spread all over India and even in the outlying countries like Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand. The facts are presented as far as these can be drawn from all the available sources, whether literary or archaeological and the efforts of my predecessors in this line have been fully utilized.

The study of Buddhism has attracted the attention of eminent scholars, such as, C.J. Thomas, René Grousset, H.C. Warren, J.H.C. Kern, L. De La Vallee Poussin, W.W. Rockhill, T.W. Rhys Davids, H. Oldenberg, C. Eliot, E. Lamotte, E.H. Brewster, C. Humphreys, A. Lillie, K.J. Saunders, A.E. Holland, R.S. Hardy, M. Monier-Williams, E. Conze, E. Burnouf, P.A. Bigandet, C.A.F. Rhys Davids, B.L. Suzuki, J. Przyluski, B.C. Law, B.M. Barua, N.N. Dutt, A.K. Coomaraswamy, R.G. Basak. They have made fairly detailed studies on various aspects of Buddhism and Buddhistic culture and have contributed largely to the study of Buddhism. A considerable amount of research has been done on Buddhism, but so far, no attempt has been made to draw a picture of Buddhism in India under the patronage of kings, nobles and common people. Although a few scholars have written one or two chapters on it in different contexts, no systematic and integral study of the subject has so far been made. A work dealing with this topic is a long-felt want, and I believe that the present one will meet it to a certain extent.

I avail myself of this opportunity to record my deep obligation and gratitude to all the authors whose publications I have consulted and utilised in my present work and I have spared no pains to include all these works in the Bibliography.

I also take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the authors of the works entitled 'Political History of Ancient India', 'The Early History of India', 'The Early Kuṣāṇas' and 'The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India' from which a few maps have been incorporated in the present book.

Professor Kalyan Kumar Ganguly, Formerly Bageswari Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and also lecturer in the Department of Pali of the Calcutta University, has very kindly written a foreword to this book. To him I remain deeply indebted.

I wish to express my sense of gratitude to my teacher Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta, Ex-Reader in the Department of Pali and Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit of the Calcutta University for giving me his invaluable guidance throughout the period of writing this book. He supplied me with useful information on various topics at different stages of the progress of the work and gave me new insight into different problems of Buddhism and Buddhistic culture.

I must thank Dr. Bangendu Ganguly, Reader in the Department of political Science, Dr. Mira Ganguly, Reader in the Department of Political Science, Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, Reader in the Department of Museology and Dr. Mrinal Kanti Ganguly, Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit of the Calcutta University for taking personal interest in my book. My thanks are also due to my sister Mrs. Nirmala Hazra and her husband Mr. Dhirendra Nath Hazra, my another sister Mrs. Ramola Kumar and my brother Mr. Subodh Kumar Hazra for their keen interest in the completion of this work.

My thanks are due to the librarian and staff of the Calcutta University Central Library and the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, who have helped me in various ways to use material in these libraries.

Calcutta, 1983.

—KANAI LAL HAZRA

ABBREVIATIONS

A —Aśoka, V.A. Smith.
AAAF —Āin-i-Akbarī of Abul Fazl, Tr. H.S. Jarrett.
AAHI —An Advanced History of India, R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Raychaudhury and K.K. Dutta.
AAIBHJ —Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist, Hindu and Jain, B. Rowland.
ABI —Alberuni's India, E.C. Schak.
ABM —Aśoka, B.M. Barua.
ACHI —A Comprehensive History of India, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.
ADKV —L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, La Vallee Poussin.
ADM —Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, Romila Thapar.
ADY —Ashṭādhyāyī, Ed. and Tr. S.C. Vasu.
AEHC —An Epitome of the History of Ceylon, George Turnour.
AF —The Awakening of Faith, T. Suzuki.
AGBG —L' Art Greco-bouddhique der Gandhara, A. Foucher.
AGI —Ancient Geography of India, A. Cunningham.
AGS —A Guide to Sāñchī, J. Marshall.
AGT —A Guide to Taxila, J. Marshall.
AHD —Ancient History of the Deccan, J. Dubreuil.
AHI —Ancient and Hindu India, V.A. Smith.
AHIL —A History of Indian Literature, M. Winternitz.
AHIS —Aśoka and his inscriptions, B.M. Barua.
AHSL —A History of Sanskrit Literature, A.A. Macdonell.
AI —Ancient India, E.J. Rapson.
AIA —The Art of Indian Asia, H. Zimmer.
AIMA —Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, J.W. McCrindle.
AIOC —All India Oriental Conference.
AIR —Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, J.W. McCrindle.

AIU —The Age of Imperial Unity, R.C. Mazumdar.
AJ —Ajanta, D. Mitra.
AK —Aśoka, D.R. Bhandarkar.
AKU —The Age of the Kushāṇas, B. Chattopadhyaya.
ALGS —Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra, A.G., Stenzler.
ALSS —Āśvalāyana Śrantasūtra.
AM —Asia Major.
AMB —Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, N. Dutt.
AMMK —Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa.
AN —Aṅguttara Nikāya, R. Morris and E. Hardy.
ANBI —Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.
ANHIP —A New History of the Indian People, R.C. Mazumdar and A.S. Altekar.
ANM —Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.
AO —Acta Orientalia.
APEHI —A Peep into the Early History of India, R.C. Bhandarkar.
AR —Aśoka, R.K. Mookerji.
ARASI —Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
ARBK —A Record of the Buddhist kingdoms of Fa-hien, J. Legge.
ARBRIMA —A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, J. Takakusu.
ARI —Artharuci.
ARSI —Archaeological Survey of India.
ARSIAR —Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report.
AS —Aupapātika Sūtra, E. Leumann.
ASI —Aśokan Inscriptions, R.G. Basak.
ASIAR —Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report.
ASIS —A Survey of Indian Sculpture, S.K. Saraswati.
ASSI —Archaeological Survey of Southern India.
Aśvaghoṣa —Aśvaghoṣa, B.C. Law.
ASV —A Study of Vaiṣṇavism, K.G. Goswami.
ASWI —Archaeological Survey of Western India.
ATB —Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Martin Haug.
ATR —Asiatic Researches.
AVD —Aśokāvadāna, S.K. Mukhopadhyaya.
AVS —Āvaśyaka Sūtra.
AVV —Atharvaveda, C.R. Lanman and W.D. Whitney.

BA —Buddhism and Aśoka, B.G. Gokhale.
BB —Bibliotheca Buddhica.
BC —Buddhism in Ceylon, H.R. Perera.
BCLV —B.C. Law Volume.
BD —Buddhist Dictionary, Nyanatiloka, Island Hermitage Publication.
BEB —Buddha and Early Buddhism, A. Lillie.
BEFED —Bulletin de l'ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.
BG —Bombay Gazeteer.
BGB —Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism, A.K. Coomaraswamy.
BGS —Bhagavati Sūtra.
BH —Bārhut, B.M. Barua.
BHI —Bārhut Inscriptions, B.M. Barua and K.G. Sinha.
BHL —Buddhism, its history and literature, T.W. Rhys Davids.
BHS —Bṛihat Samhitā, J.H.K. Kern.
BI —Buddhist India, T.W. Rhys Davids.
BIA —Buddhism in India and Abroad, A.C. Banerjee.
BKS —The Book of Kindred Sayings, Mrs. Rhys Davids and F.L. Woodward.
BL —Buddhist Legend, Burlingame.
BMCCAD —British Museum Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, Western Kshatrapa Dynasty, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty, E.J. Rapson.
BMM —Buddhism, M. Monier William.
BMNP —Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.
BMP —Brahma Purāṇa.
BOD —The Book of Discipline, I.B. Horner.
BRAHA —Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the history of Andhra between 225 and 610 A.D., K.R. Subramanian.
BRWW —Buddhist Records of the Western World.
BRYU —Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad, Nityananda.
BS —Buddhistic Studies, B.C. Law.
BSA —Bimbisāra to Aśoka, S. Chattopadhyaya.
BSI —Buddhist Sects in India, N.N. Dutt.
BSU —Buddhist Suttas, T.W. Rhys Davids.
BT —Bhilsa Topes, A. Cunningham
BTI —Buddhist Thought in India, E. Conze.
BTL —Buddhist Logic, Stcherbatsky.

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BT	—Bhilsa Topes, A. Cunningham
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BTL	—Buddhist Logic, Stcherbatsky.

BU —Buddha, H. Oldenberg.
BUD —Buddhism, C.H. Humphreys.
BUED —Buddhism, its Essence and Development, E. Conze.
BVG —Bhagavad Gitā.
BVP —Bhagavad Purāṇa.
BVYP —Bhavishya Purāṇa.
BW —Buddhism, H.C. Warren.

CAI —Coins of Ancient India, A. Cunningham.
CAM —Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura, J.P. Vogel.
CASE —Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East, A. Cunningham.
CCBMGD —Catalogue of coins in the British Museum, Gupta Dynasty, J. Allan.
CCIM —Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, V.A. Smith.
CCPM —Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum, R.B. Whitehead.
CCTBT —Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, B. Nanjio.
CDU —Chhāndoga Upanisad, Nityananda.
CGE —Coinage of the Gupta Empire, A.S. Altekar.
CGSKBIBM —Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, P. Gardner.
CHI —Cambridge History of India.
CI —Coins of India, C.J. Brown.
CICAA or CICAI —Catalogue of Indian coins, Ancient India, J. Allan.
CII —Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Sten Konow.
CISK —Coins of Indo-Scythians and Kushāṇas, A Cunningham.
CL —Carmichael Lectures, D.R. Bhandarkar.
CLA —The Classical Age, R.C. Majumdar.
CMT —Chandra Gupta Maurya and his Times, R K. Mookerji.
CN —Cullaniddesa.
CR —Calcutta Review.
CV —Cullavagga.
CWSRGB —Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar.

DB —Dialogues of the Buddha, T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids.
DEBS —Democracy in Eearly Buddhist Sangha, G. De.
DhA —Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, H.C. Norman, H. Smith and L.S. Tailang.

DHI —Development of Hindu Iconography, J.N. Banerjee.
DKA —Dynasties of the Kali Age, F.E. Pargiter.
DN —Digha Nikāya, T.W. Rhys Davids and J.E. Carpenter.
DPPN —Dictionary of the Pali Proper Names, G.P. Malalasekera.
DRV —Die Religion de Veda, H. Oldenberg.
DV —Dīpavaṃsa.
DVY —Divyāvadāna, E.B. Cowell.
DYVP —Divyāvadāna, P.L. Vaidya.

EB —Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, C.P. Malalasekera.
EBH —Epochs in Buddhist History.
EBRI —Early Brahmi Records in India, Haripada Chakravarty, Calcutta. 1974.
EC —Epigraphia Carnatica.
EECA —The Early Empires of Central Asia, W.M. Mcgovern.
EHB —Early History of Bengal, R.C. Majumdar.
EHBC —Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, E.W. Adikaran.
EHD —Early History of the Dekkan, R.G. Bhandarkar.
EHI —The Early History of India, V.A. Smith.
EHNI —Early History of North India, S. Chattopadhyaya.
EHSBBS —Early History of the spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist schools, N. Dutt.
EI —Epigraphia Indica.
EIA —Essays on Indian Antiquities, J. Pronsep.
EK —The Early Kushāṇas, Baldev Kumar.
EM —Eastern Monachism, R.S. Hardy.
EMB —Early Monastic Buddhism, N. Dutt.
ERE —Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
EZ —Epigraphia Zeylanica.

FIAI —Foreign Influence in Ancient India, R.A. Jairazbhoy.
FME —The Fall of the Magadhan Empire, R.K. Mookarji

GBI —The Greeks in Bactria and India, W.W. Tarn.
GE —The Gupta Empire, R.K. Mookerji.
GEB —Geography of Early Buddhism, B.C. Law.
GI —Geschichte Irans.
GLGS —Gobhila Gṛihyasūtra.
GM —Gilgit Manuscripts, N. Dutt.

GRE —Girnar Rock Edict.
GS —The Geography of Strabo, H.L. Jones.

HAB —Hinduism and Buddhism, C. Eliot.
HARI —The History of Aryan Rule in India, E.D. Havell.
HB —History of Buddhism, Bu-ston.
HBC —History of Buddhism in Ceylon, W. Rahula.
HBI —Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, E. Lamotte.
HBT —History of Buddhism by Taranatha, A. Schiefner.
HBTT —History of Buddhist Thought, E.J. Thomas.
HC —Harsha Charita, P.V. Kane.
HCCT —Harshacarita, E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas.
HDS —History of Dharmaśāstra, P.V. Kane.
HEDA —History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, H.V. Krishnarao.
HFRAI —The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India, K.C. Ojha.
HGAI —Historical Geography of Ancient India, B.C. Law.
HGS —Hiranyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra, H. Oldenberg.
HIIA —History of Indian and Indonesian Art, A.K. Coomaraswamy.
HIIB —History of Indian Buddhism, T.W. Rhys Davids.
HIL —History of Indian Literature, M. Winternitz.
HILG —History of Indian Logic, S.C. Vidhyabhusan.
HISI —Historical Inscription of Southern India, R. Sewell, Ed. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
H.J. —The Heart of Jainism.
HNEI —The History of North-Eastern India, R.G. Basak.
HOS —Harvard Oriental Series.
HPIP —History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, B.M. Barua.
HV —Harivaṃsa, R. Kinjawadekar.

IA —Indian Antiquary.
IABHP —Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Period, P. Brown.
IB —Indian Buddhism, A.K. Warder.
IC —Indian Culture.
IFB —In the Footsteps of the Buddha, Rene Grousset.
IG —The Indo-Greeks, A.K. Narain.
IHBI —Introduction a l'Histoire de Bouddhisme Indien, Burnouf.
IHI —Imperial History of India, K. P. Jayaswal.

IHQ —Indian Historical Quarterly.
IIR —Indo-Iranian Religion, S.K. Hodivala.
IKB —Introduction to the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, J.H. Jacobi.
INT —Indian Theism, N. Macnicol.
IRVS —Introduction to the Ṛigveda Samhitā, Wilson.
IS —Introduction of Aśoka, Hultzsch.
ISTBB —An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, N. Ray.
IT —Indian Theism, A.B. Keith.

JA —Jātaka, E.B. Cowell.
JABJA —Jagajjyoti, A Buddha Jayanti Annual.
JAHRS —Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
JAI —Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS —Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB —Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS —Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS —Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JCBRAS —Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JDL —Journal of the Department of Letters.
JEFA —Jainism or the Early Faith of Aśoka, E. Thomas.
JIH —Journal of the Indian History.
JKM —Jinakālamālī, N.A. Jayawickrema.
JKMA —Jātakamālā of Āryasūra.
JNA —Journal Asiatique.
JNI —Jainism in North India, C.J. Shah.
JNSI —Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JPASBNS —Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal New Series.
JPTS —Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JRASBL —Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters).
JRASGB —Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JS —Jaina Sūtras, J.H. Jacobi.
JUPHS —Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.

KA —Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, J. Jolly and R. Schmidt.
KGS —Khādira Gṛihyasūtra, H. Oldenberg.
KHN —Khuddaka Nikāya, Bhikkhu J. Kashyap.

KK	—Kathākośa, C.H. Tawney.
KKS	—Kāthāka Saṁhitā, Von Schroeder.
KN	—Khuddaka Nikāya, F.L. Woodward.
KS	—Kosala Saṃyutta, II.
KSS	—Kathāsarit-Sāgara, C.H. Tawney.
KTB	—Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa, A.B. Keith.
KU	—Kena Upanishad.
KV	—Kathāvatthu, A.C. Taylor.
KVPAK	—Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā, J.P. Minayeff.
LAIJC	—Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons, J.C. Jain.
LB	—The Life of the Buddha, W.W. Rockhill.
LBB	—Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism, R.G. Basak.
LBP	—Le Bouddhisme, Przyluski.
LBU	—The Life of the Buddha, E.J. Thomas.
LEAICT	—The Legend of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese texts, D.K. Biswas.
LGA	—Life in the Gupta Age, R.N. Saletore.
LGB	—Life of Gotama the Buddha, E.H. Brewster.
LHT	—Life of Hiuen Tsang, S. Beal.
LLBI	—Luders, List of Brahmi Inscriptions
LLEA	—La Legende de l'Emperur Aśoka, J. Przyluski.
LLG	—Life or Legend of Gautama, P.A. Bigandet.
LOGR	—Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, F. Max Muller.
LP	—Liṅga Purāṇa, J. Vidyasagara.
LSBPV	—Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Vehicule, A Bareau.
LV	—Lalita Vistara, S. Lefmann.
LVB	—The Life of Vasubandhu, J. Takakusu.
LWB	—The Life and Works of Buddhaghosh.
MAPC	—The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, B.C. Law.
MASI	—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MBC	—Manual of Buddhism, C.A.F. Rhys Davids.
MBT	—Mahābhārata.
MBTSR	—Mahābhārata Southern Recension.
MBU	—Mahāyāna Buddhism, B.L. Suzuki.
MBV	—Mahābodhivaṃsa, S.A. Strong.

MBY	—Mahābhāshya of Patañjali, F. Kielhorn.
MCI	—Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions.
MCEGD	—Memoire compose a l'epoque de la grande dynastie, Tang sur les religieux eminents qui allerent chercher a loi dans les pays d'accident par I-tsing, E. Chavannes.
MDAFA	—Memoires De La Delegation Archaeologique Francaise en Afghanistan.
MDRVI	—Madhuratthivilāsini, I.B. Morner.
MDV	—Muṇḍaka Upanishad.
MGS	—Mānava Gṛihyasūtra.
MHPS	—Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta.
MHV	—Mahāvagga, I.B. Horner.
MHVU	—Mahāvastu, E. Senart.
MIB	—Manual of Indian Buddhism, H. Kern.
MKDP	—Mārkandeya Purāṇa.
MKV	—Mahākarmavibhaṅga, S. Sylvain Levi.
MLKV	—Mālālaṁkāravatthu, F. Max Muller.
MLP	—Milindapañha, I.B. Horner.
MLPT	—Milindapañha, V. Trenckner.
MN	—Majjhima Nikāya, V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers.
MNA	—Majjhima Nikāya Atthakatha.
MR	—Mudrārākshas, K.T. Telang.
MS	—Monuments of Sāñchī.
MSEHVS	—Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, H.C. Raychaudhuri.
MST	—Manusaṁhitā, J. Jolly.
MTYS	—Maitrāyani Saṁhitā.
MU	—Maitri Upanishad.
MV	—Mahāvaṃsa, W. Geiger.
MVSA	—Mahāvaṃsa, N.K. Bhagwat.
MVT	—Mahāvaṃsa Tika.
MVU	—Mahāvastu.
MYP	—Matsya Purāṇa.
ND	—Niddesa, L de la Vallee Poussin and E.J. Thomas.
NIA	—New Indian Antiquary.
NJIM	—New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura, G. Buhler,
NKY	—Nirukta Yaska

SSU	—Śvetāśvatara Upanishad.
STGB	—Schiefner, Taranatha's Geschichte des Buddhismus.
SUN	—Sutta Nipāta, V. Fausboll.
SUNC	—Sutta Nipāta Commentary, Helmer Smith.
SV	—Sumaṇgalavilāsinī, T.W. Rhys Davids.
SVK	—The Stūpa and Vihāra of Kanishka I, K.W. Dobbins.
SVM	—Sāsanavaṃsa, M. Bode.
SVVC	—Sthaviravalicharita, H. Jacobi.
SVYS	—Saz. Vin. Yao-shih.
SWAI	—Sun-worship in Ancient India, V.C. Srivastava.
TAI	Tribes in Ancient India, B.C. Law.
TCG	Terracottas from Chandraketugarh, Lalitakala, P.C. Dasgupta.
TF	—Travels of Fa-hsien, H.H. Giles.
TFS	—Travels of Fa-hian and Sung-Yun, S. Beals.
THC	—Theragāthā Commentary, Woodward.
THCC	—Tsieu Han Chou.
THG (TG)	—Theragāthā, R. Pischel.
THIC	—Therīgāthā Commentary, E. Moller.
TM	—The Treasure of Magi, Moulton.
TSS	—Trishashtisālāka.
TSSPC	—Trishashtiśalākā-purushacharita, Hemachandra.
TTA	—Taittiriya Āranyaka.
TTB	—Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, H.N. Apte.
TTS	—Taittiriya Saṁhitā.
TX	—Taxila, J. Marshall.
UD	—Udāna, P. Steinthal.
US	—Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, H. Jacobi.
VBB	—The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha.
VJSS	—Vajasaneyi Samhita, A. Weber.
VM	—Vedic Mythology, A.A. Macdonell.
VNP	—Vishṇu Purāṇa, P. Tarkaratna.
VP	—Vinaya Piṭaka, H. Oldenberg.
VPS	—Vaṁsatthappakāsinī, G.P. Malalaṣekera.
VSMRS	—Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, R.G. Bhandarkar.

VV —Vimānavatthu, E.R. Gooneratne.
VVP —Vāyu Purāṇa, R. Mitra.

WB —The Way of the Buddha, Publications Division, Government of India.
WC —Western Civilization, E.M. Burns.
WN —The Way to Nirvana, La De La Vallee Poussin.
WTWI —Wonder that was India, A.L. Basham.

YB —2500 Years of Buddhism, P.V. Bapat.
YVS —Yājñavalkya Smriti, A.F. Stenzler.

ZA —Zend Avesta.
ZDISCBO —Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythic Coins, Babylonian and Oriental Record, M.A. Stein.
ZOMG —Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesallschaft.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD vii

PREFACE ix

ABBREVIATIONS xi

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES xxix

CHAPTER ONE

PATRONAGE OF CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND CLANS 1-36

Contemporary Kings 1
Bimbisāra 2
Ajātasattu (Ajātasatru) 7
Pasenadi 14
Caṇḍa Pajjota (Pradyota) 17
Uden (Udayana) 18
Pukkusāti 19
Rudrāyana 20
The Śākyas 21
The Lichchhavīs 25
The Mallas 30
The Bhaggas 33
The Koliyas of Rāmagāma and Devadaha 33
The Bulis of Allakappa, The Moriyas of Pipphalivana and The Kālāmas of Kesaputta 35

CHAPTER TWO

BUDDHISM AND SUCCESSORS OF AJĀTASATTU AND THE NANDAS 37-50

Udāyibhadda 37

Muṇḍa 38

Nāgadāsaka 39

Śiśunāga 39

Kālāśoka 40

Śūrasena 43

CHAPTER THREE

BUDDHISM IN THE MAURYA EMPIRE 51-100

Chandragupta 51

Bindusāra 57

Aśoka 59

Kuṇāla 93

Jalauka, Tivara and Mahendra 94

Daśaratha 95

Samprati 95

Śāliśūka and Bṛhadratha 96

CHAPTER FOUR

BUDDHISM IN THE ŚUṄGA-KĀṆVA PERIOD 101-112

The Śuṅga Dynasty 101

Pushyamitra 101

Pushyamitra's Successors 106

The Kāṇva Dynasty 109

CHAPTER FIVE

BUDDHISM UNDER THE INDO-GREEKS, THE ŚAKAS AND THE PAHLAVAS (PARTHIANS) 113-132

The Indo-Greeks 113
Menander 114
The Śakas 121
The Śaka Emperors 121
The Śaka Satraps 125
The Parthians 129

CHAPTER SIX

BUDDHISM UNDER THE GREAT KUSHĀṆAS AND THE ŚAKA SATRAPS OF WESTERN INDIA AND THE DECCAN 133-168

The Great Kushāṇas 133
Kujula Kadphises 133
Wema Kadphises 135
Kanishka I 135
Vāśishka 155
Huvishka 156
Kanishka II 159
Vāsudeva I 159
The Śaka Satraps of Western India and the Deccan 161
The Kshaharātas 161
Nahapāna 161
The Kārdamakas 164
Chashṭana 164
Rudradāman I and his Successors 164

CHAPTER SEVEN

BUDDHISM UNDER THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS 169-204

The Sātavāhanas 169
Simuka 169
Ḳaṇhạ 170

Sātakarṇi I 171
Cautamiputra Sātakarṇi 172
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi 173
Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi 176
The Ikshvākus 178
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sāntamūla 179
Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata 180
Ehuvula Cāṁtamūla 193
The Ānandas 197
The Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kudurāhāra 198
The Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī 199
The Ābhīras 199
The Bodhis 201
The Vākāṭakas 201
Vindhyaśakti 201
Hāritīputra Pravarasena I or Pravīra 201

CHAPTER EIGHT

BUDDHISM DURING THE AGE OF THE GUPTAS AND THE LATER GUPTAS 205-240

Rise of the Guptas 205
Chandra Gupta I 206
Samudra Gupta 206
Chandra Gupta II 207
Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta 207
Budha Gupta 223
The Later Guptas 233
Ādityasena 235
Mādhava Gupta 235

MAPS

The Mahājanapadas of Ancient India and East Iran xxxx
The Empire of Aśoka 60

BIBLIOGRAPHY 241-298

INDEX 299-304

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

The object of this work is to present as complete an account as possible of the patronage of Buddhism in ancient India by the ruling powers and nobility from the time of the Buddha to the extinction of the Gupta rule, i.e., from the sixth century B.C. to the second half of the eighth century A.D. Here by the Guptas I went to say that they were not only the Imperial Guptas but also the later Guptas whose religious toleration counted largely to help Buddhism to flourish and it was due to their liberal outlook that it continued to be popular with the masses. I have tried to give in detail a clear picture of Buddhism under the patronage of kings, nobles and clans during this period, but in this connection I have also mentioned the political condition of the time and the important role played by the rulers in the political as well as in the religious field. Therefore, in this study, an attempt is made to examine carefully the development of Buddhism under the patronage of the royal dynasties in the religious history of India from the time of the Buddha to the end of the Gupta period. But the path leading to its progress is not always smooth. Even than an attempt has been made to trace the history of the gradual progress of Buddhism with the help and cooperation of not only the Indian rulers but also of the foreign kings and this topic forms the subject of our study.

It is my firm conviction that a religion can find its full fruition on the soil of a country with the help of its rulers. It is generally accepted that without their patronage a religion, however excellent may be its teachings, can neither play a prosperous role nor make an important contribution to the religious world. Christianity would not have been what it is now without the active support and patronage of emperors like Constentine. A study of the history of England unfolds the story of the progress of the religion of Jesus Christ with the support of the rulers. Like in other parts of the world, India also witnessed the prosperity of a religion when it was patronised by the rulers.

Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, who, after his enlightenment, became known as the Buddha, came from a semi-royal family and had a great advantage to win over the royal favour and patronage. His religion during his life-time seems to have been spread mainly in the Indo-Gangetic valley. For some centuries following his death, we know little of its geographical extension. But its populariry can be easily understood from the various claimants of his relics after the cremation of his body who were king Ajātasattu (Ajātasatru) of Magadha, the Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli (Vesāli), the Ṣākyas of Kapilāvastu (Kapilāvatthu), the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma (Rāmagāma), the Mallas of Pāvā, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, etc. and over all these relics stūpas were erected by them for worship and for its propagation. The historical records furnish us with the materials that the most important and significant factor leading to its spread during this period was the patronage extended to it by several rulers, the most prominent among whom were Aśoka, Menander and Kanishka, who would remain immortal in the history of Buddhism as great patrons of the religion whose main concern was only with the Buddha's religion. Their noble examples were followed by the rulers, who ascended the throne after them. Aśoka's great interest in the Buddhist faith, his sole devotion to its welfare and his vigorous and pious activities inspired the whole Buddhist world and provided a strong stimulus to its spread in India and her neighbouring countries and had helped to incorporate it on the map of the world religions. In course of time the basic principles of the Buddha's teachings gradually permeated Indian life and the neighbouring countries and they became an integral part of the life and thought in India and in other countries. This was no doubt the result of Aśoka's outstanding contribution to the Buddhist world. Menander and Kanishka, although they were foreign rulers, will always be remembered for their special inclination towards Buddhism.

The subject "ROYAL PATRONAGE OF BUDDHISM IN ANCIENT INDIA" covers the period of Indian history from the age of the Buddha to the end of the Gupta period. This work starts with the history of the country's political and religious conditions in the early period, the rise of Buddhism, its spread at the hands of rulers and nobles during Buddha's time, its progress under several dynastic rulers and then the work ends with the patronage of it by some of the Imperial and later Guptas. This volume which is divided into eight chapters is as follows. First chapter deals with contemporary kings and clans and their contributions to the Buddha's religion. The second chapter depicts the expansion of Buddhism when the successors of the rulers of the Haryaṅka dynasty ascended the throne and the state of Buddhism under the Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties. The next chapter describes the power and influence of Buddhism under the rule of the Maurya dynasty and Aśoka's great patronage to it and the position of an all-India religion gained by it during his life-time. Fourth chapter unfolds the popularity of Buddhism under the Śūṅga and Kānvāyans (Kānva) rulers. Fifth chapter seeks to explain how the Indo-Greek rulers patronised Buddhism. Chapter sixth traces the events connecting the growth of Buddhism at the hands of the Great Kushāṇas and the Śaka Satraps of Western India and the Deccan. Seventh chapter records the services rendered to Buddhism by the rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty and the rulers of the post-Sātavāhana dynasties. The final chapter opens with an account of some of the Imperial and later Guptas as patrons of Buddhism. All the chapters have been arranged chronologically. In order to give an account of the description how Buddhism gained a firm footing and gradually progressed during the time of different rulers, the chapters have been arranged according to the chronological order of the royal dynasties which came to power one after another. Though this work deals mainly with the history of Buddhism, some brief notes have also been added regarding other religious creeds like Jainism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc. which have been dealt with side by side with Buddhism. But details have been avoided as far as possible. This arrangement would give the reader a comparative idea of the growth of various religions and their peaceful coexistence in the country during this age.

SOURCES

The primary sources on which this work is based may broadly be classified under the following heads : literary and archaeological. Literary sources include both indigenous and foreign accounts. Apart from the Pali texts, other literary works have been examined with a view to forming an estimate of their historical value. The local chronicles, other semi-historical works and records of travellers are useful no doubt. But they in many cases suffer from chronological and other defects. In studies on the history of royal dynasties, in spite of the continuous records of these dynasties in the literary accounts, archaeological data, especially inscriptions which have been utilised here, have proved useful and reliable. Many events mentioned in the literary records are very often corroborated by them. They not only help to supplement and clarify the events mentioned in the literary sources but also confirm their accounts. So they are important and trustworthy sources of our study and their value cannot be underestimated.

LITERARY SOURCES : BUDDHIST AND JAIN LITERATURE

The works of the Pali Vinaya Piṭaka and the Nikāyas have been utilised to a considerable degree in this book as sources of our information in order to draw a picture of the state of Buddhism in the age of the Buddha. They have been supplemented at times by other Buddhist works. The Vinaya Piṭaka and the Sutta Piṭaka of the Pali canon undoubtedly form indispensable sources for the study of the history of Buddhism in India during the period from the first propagation of Buddhism by its Founder to the reign of the emperor Aśoka. The third canonical basket is the Abhidhamma, which means 'higher religion' or the 'higher subtleties of religion'. This Piṭaka deals mainly with the metaphysical and psychological matters and has nothing to do with the social history of the country in the Buddha's time. The Vinaya Piṭaka 'Basket of the discipline of the Saṅgha', which has been placed at the head of the canon is the best source for an information of the Buddhist Saṅgha and its members. It deals mainly with the rules and regulations for the guidance of the Buddhist Saṅgha and rules and instructions for the daily life of the bhikkhus (monks) and the bhikkhunīs (nuns). The Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka throw abundant light on many aspects of the social and religious life of India and the Buddhist Church in the age of the Buddha. For a study of the religious history of ancient India these two Khandhakas which contain valuable historical information deserve special mention. The Sutta Piṭaka, which is a collection of the doctrinal expositions, is the most trust-worthy source of knowledge regarding the religion of the Buddha and the activities of his followers. As a source for our knowledge of Buddhism and also from a purely literary standpoint, the Suttas are the most important literary products of Buddhist literature. We are told that the contents of the first four Nikāyas, i.e., the Dīgha Nikāya, the Majjhima Nikāya, the Saṃyutta Nikāya and the Aṅguttara Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka are mostly speeches on different occasions made by the Buddha himself and sometimes also by some of his eminent disciples. As these sayings or speeches came straight from the mouth of the Master himself and sometimes from one of his direct followers, we can gladly say that among the literary sources which contain information on social and religious history of the country in the time of the Buddha, they are of considerable importance to those who are interested in the study of Buddhism. They are devoted to many problems on doctrinal aspects and they also deal with many secular matters relating to different aspects of life in ancient India. The Khuddaka Nikāya, the 'Collection of the Smaller Pieces', which is the fifth Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka, consists of fifteen treatises of diverse forms and subjects. Some of these texts throw considerable light on the religious history of the time of the Buddha and they deserve particular attention. The Sutta Nipāta, the 'Section of Discourses', is a collection of poetical Suttas. It throws light on certain aspects of Indian history in the early period. It gives an account of social, religious and economic conditions of India in the time of the Buddha. It is also important for a study of his ethical teachings. In all texts of Buddhism probably it is the most frequently quoted text. In his Bhabru Edict, King Aśoka mentions the names of some 'dhammapaliyāyah' which are identified with a few suttas contained in this text. The Theragāthā, the 'Songs of the Elders' and the Therīgāthā, the 'Songs of the Lady Elders' are the two collections of poems. They give us information on the social conditions, especially of the position of woman in the society in ancient India. They also deal with various aspects of the principal characteristics of Buddhism, fundamentals of Buddhism, etc. The Jātaka, 'Story of former birth' or 'Bodhisattva story' sheds light on many aspects of Indian history in the early period. It provides information on social, economic and religious conditions and manners and customs of the people in Buddha's time. From it we get an idea of the early life of Indian people. The Jātaka offers us "a picture of the narrative literature and the conditions of civilisation at the time of Buddha or a still earlier time . . . ." The Apadāna, 'heroic deed', 'Glorious deed', in verse refers to stories relating to glorious deeds of five hundred and fifty monks and forty nuns who lived in the time of the Buddha. The Buddhavaṁsa deals with poetical legends of the twenty-four Buddhas, who in the last twelve kalpas seemed to have preceded Gotama Buddha. It refers to the principal events in the life of Gotama Buddha. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka deals mainly with the psychological and logical matters but it has nothing to do with the social history of the country in the Buddha's time. Among its seven texts mention may be made of the Kathāvatthu, 'Subjects of Discourse', which was composed by Moggaliputta Tissa, the President of the Third Buddhist

Council. The Kathāvatthu is an important work for a study on the development of Buddhist dogmatics during the later centuries. It also deals with the Buddhist sects. The commentary on the Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā gives an account of the sects and schools, "which is of paramount importance for the history of the schisms in the earliest Buddhist community."

Next to Tripiṭaka, a number of Pali commentarial works, which throw light on certain aspects of Buddhism and the history of the religion, are also available to us. Although they mostly belong to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., even then they may be regarded as of considerable value for the study of religious history. Buddhaghoṣa's Samantapāsādikā, a commentary on the Vinayapiṭaka contains valuable information on the social and religious life in ancient India. The Sumaṅgalavilāsini, a commentary on the Dighanikāya, was also written by Buddhaghosa. The accounts given in it are no doubt valuable for a study in the field of social, political and religious aspects of ancient India. Apart from these works mentioned above, Buddhaghosa also wrote the Papañcasūdanī, a commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya, the Sāratthappakāsinī, a commentary on the Saṃyutta Nikāya and the Manorathapūrāṇi, a commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya. The Manorathapūrāṇi refers to biographical notes on almost all the chief disciples of the Buddha. It gives an account on the actual life and feelings of those womea who left the world in order to follow the path of the Master. Some of the accounts deal with the lives of the Theris. Besides information on the Buddha's chief disciples we know from it a list of the names of all the places where the Buddha visited during the rainy season. The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is an important commentary on the Dhammapada, a text of the Khuddaka Nikāya. It is so very different in language and style from other commentarial works of Buddhaghoṣa that some scholars think that it was not composed by Buddhaghoṣa.

We should also refer in this connection to the famous Buddhist text : 'The Questions of Milinda' (Milinda Pañha). The Milinda Pañha, which must have originated in north-west India, is more likely to have been composed in the first century A.D. rather than in the second. Milinda has been identified with the Greek king Menander, the most prominent figure of the Graeco-Indian Empire. The text deals with the conversation between Milinda and Nāgasena, the Buddhist monk, on many problems of Buddhism. This noncanonical work contains some useful information regarding Menander (Milinda) who is said to have embraced Buddhism.

A number of biographical works of the Buddha are available to us. They are—the Mahāvastu, the Lalitavistara, the Buddhacarita, the Nidānakathā and the Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra. The last one is now available only in Chinese. But S. Beal in 1975 under the title of 'the Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha' has translated it into English. Among these five works the Lalitavistara, which is the most systematic, undoubtedly deserves special attention. The Mahāvastu, which is regarded as the first book of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghikas, must have been composed in mixed Sanskrit probably in the first or second century B.C. The main purpose of this text is to narrate the life of the Buddha, according to the different traditions, for the Lokottaravādins. As a treasure-trove of the Jātakas and other narratives it has a great value. Many Jātakas and Avadānas occupy a prominent place in this text. The Lalitavistara, 'the detailed narration of the sport (lalita), i.e., the life and work of the Buddha on earth' in mixed Sanskrit is regarded as one of the most important sacred Mahāyāna texts. From the point of view of the history of Buddhism it undoubtedly occupies the pride of place. It refers to the very old traditions relating to the Buddha legend as well as some other traditions which belong to later centuries. Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita—'Life of the Buddha'—in Sanskrit refers to the Buddha's life, works and doctrines during his life when he was still in the palace of his father king Suddhodana till his death under the avenue of Sāla trees. The Nidānakathā is the only biography of Gautama Buddha in Pali. The Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra of the Dharmaguptas written in mixed Sanskrit gives an account of the life of the Buddha and his meritorious acts in his missionary days.

Next we can mention the names of the two Ceylonese chronicles, the Dīpavaṁsa, the 'History of the Island' and the Mahāvaṁsa. Among the literary sources which have been utilised for this study, the most important are these two chronicles. They give us an important account regarding the important role played by Aśoka, the great Buddhist emperor, in the expansion of Buddhism, more particularly in the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. The Dipavaṁsa was written in the fourth century A.D. and Mahānāma, a Buddhist monk, wrote the Mahāvaṁsa in the fifth or sixth century A.D. The Mahāvaṁsa, which contains thirty-seven chapters in all, deals mainly with the same events as those we find in the accounts of the Dīpavaṁsa but these accounts are treated in more details. Although these two chronicles contain many legends and myths yet for the information of the early history of India and Ceylon, the Buddha's missionary activities for the propagation of his religion to different places, the contribution of kings and clans to the Buddhist world, they are indispensable to us as primary sources of information. In this connection we should also refer to the curious work entitled 'Ārya-mañjuśri-mūlakalpa' which contains valuable data regarding the politico-religious condition of ancient India. It is a late Buddhist Sanskrit chronicle narrating interesting events of political and religious concern in the usual prophetic strain like the Purāṇas. One of the striking features of the work is that it refers to the rulers sometimes by the first letter of the name and sometimes by an equivalent synonym. As the work preserves some old and genuine traditions. it can be regarded as a source of useful information relating to the state of Buddhism in ancient India.

Among the notable works in Buddhist Sanskrit the most important from our point of view are the two texts entitled 'Avadānaśataka' and 'Divyāvadāna'. The Divyāvadāna contains interesting episodes relating to the emperor Aśoka, his guide and preceptor Upagupta, and king Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty.

Let us now deal with some of the Jain texts, which throw light on certain aspects of religious history. These secred Jain texts give us some interesting information about certain kings like Bimbisāra, Ajātasatru, Chandragupta Maurya and Samprati. The contents of these texts, which have been utilised in this study, are of great help for understanding of the religious history and the position of Jainism in ancient India. The Bhagavati-Viyāha-paṇṇatti or the Vyākhyā-Prajñapti, which is commonly known as the Bhagavati Sūtra, is the fifth aṅgs. It is regarded as one of the most important sacred texts. It deals with the life of Mahāvira, his relations with his disciples and contemporaries. The Uvāsagadasao or the Upāsakadaśā, which is the seventh aṅga, is a rich source of historical information relating to the religious life as well as the social life in ancient India. The Ovavāiya Sūya or the Aupapātika Sūtra is regarded as the first Upāṅga of the Śvetāmbara canon. It gives us an account of Mahāvira's meeting with king Kūṇika of Campā and Indrabhūti, his senior disciple. The Narayāvaliya Sūya or the Nirayāvali Sūtra is regarded as one of the Upāṅgas. It gives the life-history of ten sons of king Śrenika. The Uttarajjhayaṇa Sūya or the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra is regarded as one of the earliest sacred writings of the Jains. It gives an account of admonitions to pupils, explanation of four most valuable things, of karma and sins, and also contains historical and geographical information. The Avassaya Sūya or the Āvaśyaka Sūtra, which contains six sections, deals with six important daily duties of a Jain. It also provides us some historical information which is also useful in tracing the history of ancient India. The Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan or Sthaviravali-carita, i.e., "Appendix-Section" or "Lives of the Series of the Elders", the appendix to the Triṣaṣṭi-Śalakāpuruṣa-carita, gives an account of the Daśa-pūrvins, i.e., the earliest Jain religious teachers, who were still knowers of the ten Pūrvas. It deals with the life-stories of the Elders (sthaviras, theras), i.e., the disciples of Mahāvīra. Hemacandra has based his work from earlier text of legendary lore and commentaries, especially those of Haribhadra. The Kalpa Sūtra is a work of Bhadrabāhu. A greater part of this text deals with the life of Mahāvīra. The Kālkācārya-Kathānaka is a Prakrit poem mixed with prose and verse. It gives an account of the king's son Kālaka, who after his conversion to the Jain faith, was able to secure the high degree of the superior of the Order. The Kathā-Kośa. the "Treasury of stories", which is written in Sanskrit with Prakrit verses, is certainly not an old text, but is very difficult to say anything about the date of its composition. It contains many charming fairy tales. The Prabhāvaka-caritra "Life of the Prominent" is the work of Prabhācandra or Candraprabha. It deals with the life stories of twenty-two Jain teachers, poets and authors, including Haribhadra, Sāntisūri, Hemacandra, etc.

BRĀHMANICAL LITERATURE

Let us now turn to some of the important Brāhmanical works composed in Sanskrit which furnish a good deal of useful information regarding the political and religious history of ancient India. For our study of early Indian history the Purāṇas, which belong to the religious literature, form one of the most important sources of information. To the historians and to the antiquarians, the Pūrāṇas, because of their genealogies, are valuable as sources of political history, even though they could be used very carefully. From the point of view of the history of religion they are of great value. Because they throw light on many aspects of religious history and give us an idea about the religious conditions of India in the early period. There are several lists of the dynastic rulers in the Purāṇas. In these lists of kings of the Kali Age there are references to the dynasties of the Śiśunāgas, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Andhras and Guptas, which are well-known and have occupied a prominent place in the pages of Indian history. The Vishnu, Vāyu, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas are the most important from the point of view of the political as well as religious history.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, which may be assigned to the period 249 B.C. to c. 100 A.D., is a document of the Maurya period and its author was the Prime Minister or an important adviser to Chandragupta Maurya. It confirms in many respects the accounts left by Megasthenes (the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta) about the administrative system of Chandragupta Maurya, his internal and foreign policy, and his relations with his subjects. The Mahābhāshya of Patañjali (assignable to the period between c. 150 B.C. and 100 A.D.) is another important work which contains facts bearing on the history of the Post-Maurya period.

The Mālavikāgnimitra, a work of Kālidasa, deals with king Agnimitra's love with a maid in the service of one of his queens. The Kathāsarit-sāgra or 'Ocean of the Rivers of Stories' or 'Ocean of the Streams of Story' contains no less than 22,000 ślokas. Somadeva, a Kashmirian poet, composed this text in 1070 A.D. He was a Brāhmaṇa, but his work shows the influence of Buddhism in his writing. It "contains not only many traces of the Buddhistic character of his sources, but even direct allusions to Buddhist Birth Stories". The Mudrārākshasa or 'Rakshasa and the Seal' is a work of Visākhādatta. It deals with Chandragupta's accession to the throne of Pāṭaliputra soon after Alexander's invasion of India, the foundation of a new dynasty by him, the deposition of the last king of the Nanda dynasty by him and the role played by his minister Chāṇakya to win over Rākshasa to his master's side. The Rājataraṅgiṇī or "River of kings" is a chronicle of the kings of Kashmir of the twelfth century A.D. Its author was Kalhana. Its contents in early part are legendary in character. Its accounts relating to early kings are so confused that it is very difficult for readers to agree with the author regarding some accounts and to accept the facts without further corroborations. Apart from all these defects, it is of great value as an important source for the study of political and religious history of Kashmir.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS

The archaeological evidence is obtained by excavations conducted at various sites and by the skillful observation of old buildings, monuments and other works of art discovered in different centres of ancient Indian civilisation. These monuments throw welcome light on the social and religious life of the people and particularly on some facts for which no written records, either epigraphic or literary, are available.

Inscriptions and coins, regarded as distinct from monuments, form the most important and reliable source of our knowledge regarding the history of the Maurya and Post-Mauryan periods. The most remarkable of such epigraphic documents are the inscriptions of Aśoka, incised on stone, which form a class by themselves. These inscriptions throw considerable light on some aspects of his reign on which hardly anything is known from literary sources. They also conform to a great extent the various accounts of his reign given in different sources. They indicate the vastness of his empire and contain information on his love for Buddhism. His inscriptions give the impression that he was a ruler, who embarked on a career of Dharma Vijaya, i.e., conquest through Dharma, considered himself as the protector of the moral and material welfare of the world, devoted himself energetically to promote Buddhism and tolerated other religions which flourished in his kingdom under the shade of his umbrella. His conversion to the Buddhist faith mentioned in the Dipavaṁsa, Mahāvaṁsa, Samantapāsādikā and Divyāvadāna, his visit to sacred places stated in the later text, his efforts to prevent schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha found in the Mahāvaṁsa and Samantapāsādikā are confirmed by his inscriptions. Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII indirectly corroborate the statements of the Mahāvaṁsa and Mahākarmavibhaṅga which refer to his mission to different places for the propagation of Buddhism.

Valuable information bearing on religious events are found in the inscriptions of the Śuṅga period. They refer to Buddhist monuments erected during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas which we do not know from any other Buddhist record.

A large number of inscriptions relating to the Buddhist establishments at different places by the Yavanas during the reign of the Indo-Greek rulers create an idea that Buddhism which was patronised by foreign rulers and their subjects had become a mass religion. Inscriptions belonging to the Kushāṇa period are important evidence of the development of Buddhism during the reign of Kanishka and his successors. They give sufficient account to show that these rulers gave their whole-hearted support and cooperation to promote Buddhism.

A number of inscriptions in the reign of Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta family throw light on several endowments made by the members of the royal family for the benefaction of Buddhism. The limited information recorded in an inscription datable in the sixth regnal year of the Ikshvāku ruler Virapurisadata is of little assistance for an understanding of the position of Buddhism in the period of the Kardamāka dynasty. Unfortunately, no literary source is available to form an idea of the prevalence of Buddhism in this period. Several inscriptions belonging to the reign of the Sātavāhanas refer to the establishment of caityas, vihāras, stūpas and the enlargement and establishment of several religious buildings by the Sātavāhana rulers. They are of great importance as they give a clear picture of the progress of Buddhism in the Sātavāhana period. Useful information recording the private donations of pious men, women and some female members of the royal family to some Buddhist establishments are found in the inscriptions of the reign of Māṭhariputra Vīrapuriṣadata and Ehuvula Cāmtamūla II of the Ikshvāku dynasty. These inscriptions were not their official documents. They were simply private records of the devotees of Buddhism in their reign. But we must remember that the information given in them is adequate testimony to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in this period.

No epigraphic evidence relating to Buddhism is available for the reigns of the Ānandas of Kandarapura, the Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kudūrāhāra, the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi, The Bodhis and the Vākāṭakas. So it is very difficult for us to make a conclusion about the position of Buddhism in these periods. An inscription from one of the caves at Nāsik is no doubt important for an information of the development of Buddhism in the reign of the Ābhiras. It suggests the prominent place occupied by Buddhism in the history of the religion in this period.

A number of inscriptions from Bodh-Gayā, Sāñchī, Shorkot, Dasapura, Mankuwar, Sārnāth, Gunaigarh in the Imperial Gupta period give details of the glorious achievements attained by Buddhism in the reigns of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I, Kumāragupta II, Buddhagupta and Vinyagupta. Although the accounts of the Chinese travellers Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang and other Buddhist literary records inform us about the prominent role played by Buddhism under the patronage of the Imperial Gupta rulers, yet these inscriptions are of great importance, as from them we get a true picture of the prosperity of Buddhism in this period. Unfortunately, so far, no epigraphic evidence relating to the prevalence of Buddhism in the reign of the later Guptas have come to light. If the inscriptions would have been available, it would have been possible to bring in greater precision to our understanding of the valuable contributions of the later Gupta rulers as patrons of Buddhism.

The next important guide to Indian history is the numismatic evidence which affords invaluable aid to the researches of the historian in every period. Coins mainly provide materials with regard to the Indo-Greek and Śaka-Pahlava dynasties who ruled over North-Western India. The dates and names of the rulers and dynasties are frequently recorded on them. Sometimes the images carved on the coins throw some ligght on the personal accomplishment of certain rulers and on the religious views of particular kings. Thus the science of numismatics as a whole affords invaluable evidence in respect of political and religious history of several dynasties reigning in ancient India.

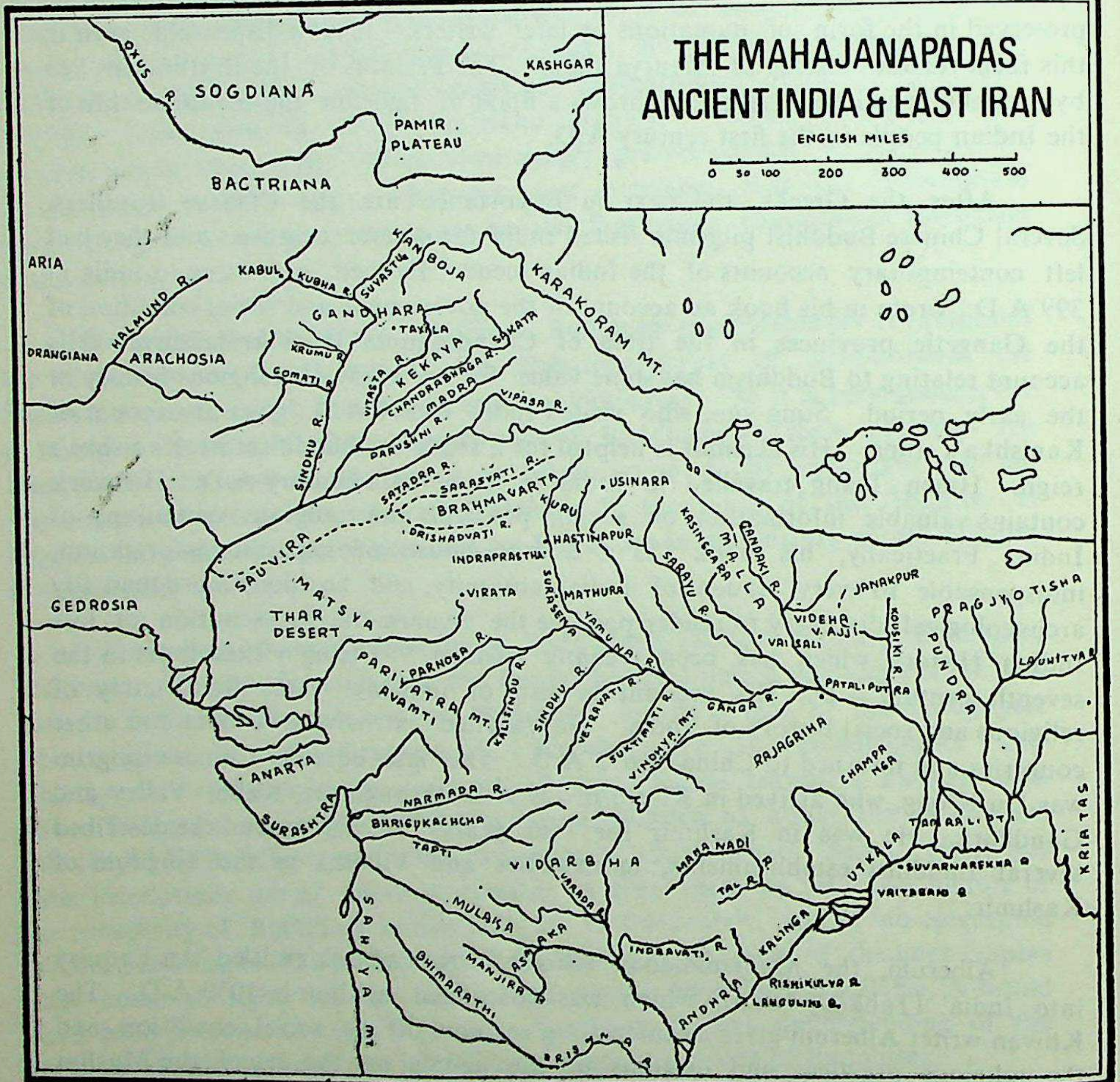
FOREIGN ACCOUNTS

The indigenous sources enumerated above are supplemented to a great extent by the writings of foreigners. Megasthenes, who had been the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya, wrote a valuable account of India. But the Indika of Magasthenes is now available only in fragments preserved in the form of quotations by later writers. It is indispensable even in this form for the history of Maurya India. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea by an unknown Greek navigator throws a flood of light on the economic life of the Indian people in the first century A.D.

After the Greeks, the next in importance are the Chinese travellers. Several Chinese Buddhist pilgrims visited India for several centuries and they had left contemporary accounts of the Indian scene. Fa-hien, who came to India in 399 A.D., wrote in his book an account of the government and social condition of the Gangetic provinces in the time of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. His account relating to Buddhism has some value for our study of religious history in the early period. Sung-yun, who visited India in 518 A.D., gives an account of Kanishka's stūpa. His account is helpful for a study of Buddhism in Kanishka's reign. Hiuen Tsang travelled in India in the seventh century A.D. His work contains valuable information on social, political and religious conditions of India. Practically, his book "is a treasure-house of accurate information, indispensable to every student of Indian antiquity, and has done more than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of lost Indian History which has been recently effected." I-tsing visited India in the seventh century A.D. His account is also of immense value for a study of religious and social history of India. He travelled extensively in India and other countries and returned to China in 695 A.D. The last notable Chinese pilgrim was Du K'ong, who arrived in Ki-pin in 759 A.D. through the Kabul Valley and Gandhāra. He was in Kashmir for four years. In his account he described several Buddhist establishments, monasteries and Vihāras in the kingdom of Kashmir.

Alberuni, the Muhjammadan scholar, wrote a book entitled 'An Enquiry into India' (Tahkik-i-Hind), which was completed by him in 1030 A.D. The Khivan writer Alberuni gives an interesting account of the social condition and the religious practices and customs of the people on the eve of the Muslim conquest. He also mentions Kanishka-vihāra at Purushapura or Peshawar.

The well-known History of Buddhism by the Tibetan historian Lāmā Tāranātha, who flourished in the sixteenth century, gives us important information pertaining to the propagation of Buddhism in India and abroad and his work is also indispensable to us from historical viewpoint.


THE MAHAJANAPADAS
ANCIENT INDIA & EAST IRAN
ENGLISH MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
OXUS R.
SOGDIANA
KASHGAR
PAMIR PLATEAU
BACTRIANA
ARIA
KABUL
KUBHA R.
SUVASTU R.
KAMBOJA
KARAKORAM MT.
HALMUND R.
GANDHARA
TAXILA
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
KRUMU R.
GOMATI R.
KEKAYA
VITASTA R.
CHANDRABHAGA R.
SAKATA
MADRA
VIPASA R.
SINDHU R.
PARUSHNI R.
SATADRA R.
SARASVATI R.
BRAHMAVARTA
KURU
USINARA
DRISHADVATI R.
HASTINAPUR
INDRAPRASTHA
KASINGARA
GANDAKI R.
MALLA
SARAYU R.
JANAKPUR
SAUVIRA
MATSYA
VIRATA
MATHURA
SURASENA
GEDROSIA
THAR DESERT
YAMUNA R.
VIDEHA
V. AJJI
VAISALI
KOUSIKI R.
PRAGJYOTISHA
PUNDRA
LAUHITYA R.
PARIYATRA MT.
PARNOSA R.
AVANTI
KALISINDU R.
SINDHU R.
VETRAVATI R.
SUKTIMATI R.
VINDHYA MT.
GANGA R.
PATALIPUTRA
RAJAGRIHA
CHAMPA NGA
ANARTA
SURASHTRA
NARMADA R.
BHRIGUKACHCHA
TAPTI
VIDARBHA
MAHANADI
TAMRALIPTI
UTKALA
SUVARNAREKHA R.
VAITARANI R.
KRIATAS
TAL R.
VARADA R.
MULAKA
ASSAKA
SAHYA MT.
BHIMARATHI
MANJIRA R.
INDRAVATI R.
KALINGA
RISHIKULYA R.
LANGULINI R.
ANDHRA
KRISHNA R.

ONE

PATRONAGE OF CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND CLANS

CONTEMPORARY KINGS

In or about the sixth century B.C. there was no paramount sovereignty in India which was parcelled out into a large number of independent states known as Janapadas or Mahājanapadas in early Indian literature. In one of the early Pali canonical texts, Aṅguttara Nikāya, we find a list of sixteen great states (soḷasa Mahājanapadas) flourishing in the extensive region between the Hindukush and the Godāvari shortly before the time of Gautama Buddha. The list in the Aṅguttara Nikāya[1] runs as follows : Aṅga (East Bihar), Magadha (South Bihar), Kāsi (Benares), Kosala (Oudh), Vriji (North Bihar), Malla (Gorakhpur district), Chedi (between the Jumnā and the Narmadā), Vatsa (Allahabad region), Kuru (Thanesar, Delhi and Meerut districts), Pañchāla (Bareilly, Budaun and Farrukhabad districts), Matsya (Jaipur), Surasena (Mathurā), Aśmaka (on the Godāvarī), Avanti (in Mālwa), Gandhāra (Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts), and Kamboja (South-west Kashmir and parts of Kafiristan).[2] The Cullaniddesa[3] adds Kaliṅga to the list but omits Gandhāra, substituting Yona in its place. The Buddhist Sanskrit work Mahāvastu[4] also contains a "similar list, but omits Gandhāra and

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1. AN, I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 260.
2. AAHI, p. 56.
3. CN, II, p. 37. The Janavasabha Suttanta (DN, II) refers to the following Janapadas in pairs : Kāsi-Kosala, Vajji-Malla, Ceti-Vaṁsa, Kuru-Pañcāla and Maccha-Surasena.
4. MVU, I, 34; PHAI, p. 95, f.n. 1.
   H.C. Raychaudhuri points out a list of sixteen countries in the Bhagavatī Sūtra of the Jainas; but it gives a slightly different list : Aṅga, Baṅga (Vaṅga), Magaha (Magadha), Malaya, Mālava (ka), Achchha, Vachchha (Vatsa), Kochchha (Kachchha), Padha (Pāṇḍya or Pauṇḍra), Lāḍha (Lāṭa or Rāḍha), Bajji (Vajji), Moli (Malla), Kāsi (Kāśi), Kosala, Avāha and Sambhuttara (Sumhottara). H.C. Raychaudhuri considers that this Jain list is later than the Buddhist list. Thus he observes : "It will be seen that Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāsi, and Kosala are common to both the lists. Malva of the Bhagavati is probably identical with Avanti of the Aṅguttara. Moli is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the Bhagavatī are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the Bhagavatī clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist Aṅguttara". PHAI, p. 96.

Kamboja, and substituting in their place Śibi and Daśārna in the Punjab (or Rājputāna) and Central India respectively". In this connection we may also refer to the Mahā Govinda Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya[5] which informs us that India was then divided into seven dominions (satta Bharatā). The names of these 'seven Bhāratas' with their respective capitals are stated thus : Kaliṅga (Dantapura), Assaka (Potana), Avanti (Māhissatī), Sovīra (Roruka), Videha (Mithilā), Aṅga (Campā), and Kāsi (Vārānasi).

Among the various states mentioned above, some were monarchical and a few were republican in form. Of all these states that flourished in the age of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, four kingdoms had become more powerful than the rest and each of these states sought to establish its authority over the neighbouring states. These were : Magadha dominated by king Bimbisāra and his son Ajātasatru (Ajātasattu), Kosala (Oudh) ruled by Pasenajit (Prasenajit or Pasenadi), Vatsa (the territory round Kosam near Allahabad) dominated by Udayana (Udena) and Avanti (the district round Ujjain) where Caṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena (Caṇḍa Pajjota) held sway. Among the republican states the most important were the Vajjians of North Bihar and the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā. Besides these two prominent republican clans, there were a number of smaller republics,[6] e.g., the Sākyas of Kapilāvastu (Kapilāvatthu), the Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas (Bhargas) of Sumsumāra Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kālāmas of Kasaputta and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana.[7]

Gautama Buddha and his disciples achieved success in a great measure in their missionary activities by securing active support and patronage from different royal houses, as well as ministers, noble men, bankers and wealthy citizens, with the result that this new faith gradually came to the forefront and spread in different parts of India. The learned scholar N. Dutt observes : "Thus we see that Buddhism owed much of its expansion to Buddha's ability in securing sympathy and patronage of kings, nobles and clans, who in many cases had already been supporting other religions. Though later in the field, Buddhism could supplant at times the other religions, ultimately monopolising the sympathy and support of some of the magnates".[8]

THE HARYAṄKA DYNASTY

BIMBISĀRA (544-493 B.C.)

Bimbisāra, who belonged to the Haryaṅka dynasty, was a great patron of the Buddha and his religion. He was the real founder of the imperial power of Magadha which was bounded on the north by the river Ganges, on the south by

[5] DN, II, p. 235; GEB, p. 7.

[6] PHAI, p. 191.

[7] BI, p. 22; MHPS, DN, II, p. 164.

[8] EHSBBS, p. 75.

the small hills of the Vindhyan range, on the east by the river Campā and on the west by the river Son. It comprised the districts of Patna and Gayā of southern Bihar. Girivraja 'the mountain-girt city' or old Rājagṛiha or Rājagaha, near Rājgir was its old capital. He was also called Seṇiya (Śreṇika) because he was the possessor of a large army.[9] The Mahāvaṁsa[10] mentions that when he was only fifteen years old he was anointed king by his father named Bhātiya or Bhaṭṭiya[11] and he ruled for fifty-two years. He conquered Aṅga which seems to have comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and acquired a portion of Kāsi by marrying Kosaladevī, a sister of Prasenajit, the king of Kosala.[12] He also entered into matrimonial alliances with the ruling families of Madra and Vaiśālī (Vesāli). Thus these marriages of Bimbisāra encouraged him in his aggressive policy of expansion of the Magadhan empire and strengthened his position as a king of that empire. His relations with distant powers were very friendly. He even sent his physician Jīvaka to the king of Avanti when the latter was suffering from Jaundice.[13]

King Bimbisāra was a contemporary of the Buddha, who was five years senior to the former in age.[14] The Pabbajjā Sutta[15] states that king Bimbisāra first met the Buddha while the latter was on his begging round in Rājagaha about seven years before the attainment of his Spiritual Enlightenment. The king sent some of his royal officers to the Buddha, inviting him to come to the palace. But after the latter's refusal the king himself came to him. The Buddha boldly proclaimed : "Just beside Himavanta, oh king, there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. They are Adikkas by family, Sākiyas by birth, from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures. Seeing misery in sensual pleasures and considering the forsaking of the world as happiness, I will go and exert myself, —in this my mind delights".[16] When the king came to know that he was the son of Suddhodana, he requested him several times to leave this life of renunciation and he also wanted to hand over half of his kingdom to him. But the Buddha told him that he gave up everything in order to attain 'Supreme Enlightenment' and hence he took the life of an ascetic. But he promised him that he would visit his place after his 'Enlightenment'. He kept his promise. After the attainment of Buddhahood he came to Rājagaha and took up his residence at the Supatiṭṭha-cetiya in the Palm Grove pleasure ground (Laṭṭhi Vanuyyāna),[17] where king Bimbisāra surrounded by twelve 'nahutas' of brāhmaṇa householders approached the Lord to pay homage to him. The Buddha delivered discourses[18] relating to the basic principles of Buddhism, e.g., dānakathā, sīlakathā, etc.; the four Noble Truths; the anicca and anatta of the five skandhas (constituents of being), as well as an exposition of the doctrine of 'pratītya'—samutpāda. On hearing these sermons, the king and his companions accepted the teachings of the Master. They became sotāpannas i.e. they attained the first stage of sanctification. The Buddhavaṁsa commentary states that king Bimbisāra on hearing of the Mahā Mārada Jātaka became the Sotāpanna.[19] With the attainment of Sotāpanna the king announced that he had no ambition at all and all his five ambitions in his young age had now been fulfilled i.e., he became the king, the Buddha visited his kingdom, he waited for the Buddha's arrival in his capital, the Buddha taught him the doctrine and he understood it.[20] The king invited the Buddha and his disciples for food in the palace. It is said that when they came to the palace to take food the pretas or some deceased relatives of Bimbisāra came there with the hope that the king would offer food to them. But the king was so busy in giving reception to the Buddha and his party that he totally forgot to mention the words 'Idaṁ vo ñātinam hotu, sukhitā hontu ñātaya' 'let the merit of this offering be beneficial to my deceased relatives and let them be happy.' The deceased relatives felt sorry for it and they disturbed the king in the night. The latter informed everything to the Buddha, who told him to offer food to his deceased relatives. The king did according to his advice and his relatives were relieved of this stage of preta life.[21] After this incident, he offered his Veḷuvana pleasure garden to the Buddha who accepted it.[22] "From this moment up till the time of his death, a period of 37 years, Bimbisāra did all in his power to help on the new religion and to further its growth".[23] He constructed a storeyed house for the disciples of the Buddha in the Veḷuvana. Several relief sculptures representing important events of the life of the Buddha have been discovered on the wall of the Relic Chamber

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[9] BS, p. 186 : 'Mahatiya senaya samannagata'.
[10] MV, p. 12, Eng. Tr.
[11] TAI, p. 200.
[12] JA, Nos., 239, 283, 492.
[13] PHAI, p. 206.
[14] DV, III, 57; MV, II, 26.
[15] KHN, I, pp. 329-330.
[16] Ibid., I, pp. 329-330 : Ujuṁ janapado rāja Himavantasa passato
dhanaviriyana sampanno Kosalssu niketino,
Ādicca nāma gottena Sakiyā nāma jātiyā
tamhā kulā pabbajito na kāme abhipatthayaṁ.
Kāmesvādīnavaṁ disvā nekkhammaṁ daṭṭhu khemato
padhānāya gamissāmi ettha me rañjatī mano ti.

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17. VP, I, 22.
18. Ibid., I, 38; MVU, III, pp. 598-602.
19. MORVI, pp. 19-21.
20. VP, I, p. 37 : ". . . .atha kho rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro diṭṭhadhammo pattadhammo viditadhammo pariyogāḷhadhammo tiṇṇavicikiccho vigatakathaṃkatho vessārajjappatto aparappaccayo satthu sāsane bhagavantaṃ etad avoca : pube me bhante kumārassa sato pañca assāsakā ahesuṃ, te me atarahi samiddhā. pubbe me bhante kumārassa sato atad ahosi: aho vata maṃ rājja abhisiñceyyum ti, ayaṃ kho me bhante paṭhamo assāsako ahosi, so me etarahi samiddho. tassa ca me vijitaṃ arahaṃ sammāsambuddho okkameyyā ti, ayaṃ kho me bhante dutiyo assāsako ahosi, so me etarahi samiddho. tañ cāhaṃ bhagavantam payirupāseyyan yi, ayaṃ kho bhante tatiyo assāsako ahosi, so me etarahi samiddho. So ca me bhagavā dhammaṃ desseyyā ti, ayaṃ kho me bhante catuttho assāsako ahosi so me etarahi samiddho. tassa cāhaṃ bhagavato dhammaṃ ājāneyyan ti, ayaṃ kho me bhante pañcamo assāsako ahosi, so me etarahi samiddho. pubbe me bhante kumārassa sato ime pañca assāsaka ahesuṃ, te me etarahi samiddhā.
21. KHN, I, pp. 9-10.
22. BOD, IV, p. 51; VP, I, 22, 17-18.
23. DPPN, II, p. 286.

of the Mahā Thūpa in Ceylon. One relief depicting the scene of the gift of Veḷuvana by Bimbisāra to the Buddha corroborates the facts as narrated in the Buddhist texts. The king became so much devoted to the Buddha that he, along with his children, wives, subjects and royal officers, offered their lives to the service of the Master.[24] He requested his people to listen attentively to the latter's teachings and to follow them in their daily lives. He took keen interest in the welfare of monks and the Saṅgha and at his approval an order was issued in his kingdom that no body must do any harm to the followers of the Buddha. It was decreed by him : "There is nothing to do against those who go forth among the recluses, some of the Sakyans. Well preached is dhamma, let them fare the Brahma-faring for making an utter end of life."[25] Even the king appointed his famous personal physician Jivaka Komārabhacca to look after the Buddha and the Saṅgha.[26] It is said that once the Buddha had no money to pay his ferry charge to the ferry-man, the king, out of his great devotion to the former, granted remission of the ferry charges not only to the Buddhist monks but also to all the recluses in his kingdom.[27] It was due to the king's love for the Buddha and his devotional activities, Gautama Buddha became a very well-known figure in Magadha and it was easy for him to propagate his teachings there.

At the request of king Bimbisāra, the Buddha introduced rules and regulations in the Buddhist Saṅgha. He framed some of these rules at the approval of the former who spent a lot of time with him and offered himself to the services of the Saṅgha. He did all these things for its welfare. The Buddha issued the order that anybody, who was in royal service, should not be allowed to receive the upasampadā or higher ordination and to join the Saṅgha, because the king, who had no faith in the religion might disturb the Saṅgha on that reason.[28] King Bimbisāra told him that like the followers of their religious sects, the Buddhist monks should assemble together on the 8th, 14th and 15th day of each month to hold religious assemblies and to perform ecclesiastical sects.[29] Thus at the king's suggestion the uposatha ceremony, along with the recital of the Pātimokkha, was introduced into the Saṅgha.[30] The Buddha had great confidence in him. He asked his disciples to fix the day of the commencement of the Vassavāsa after consulting him.[31]

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[24] DN, I, p. 116 : "Samanaṃ khalu bho Gotamam rājā Māgadho Saniyo Bimbisāra saputto subhariyo sapariso sāmaccopāṇchi saraṇaṃ gato."

[25] BOD, IV, p. 93; VP, I, pp. 74-75 : "Tena kho pana samayena raññā Māgadhena Seniyena Bimbisārena anuññātaṁ hoti. . . . 'ye samaṇesu sakyaputtiyesu pabbajjanti, na te labbhā kiñchi kātuṁ; sākhāto dhammo, caran tu brahmacariyaṁ sammā dhukkhassa antakiriyāyā 'ti'."

[26] BOD, IV, p. 89; VP, I, pp. 71-72 : "Tena kho pana samayena Māgadhesu pañca ābādhā ussannā honti kuṭṭham gaṇḍ kilāso soso apamāro. manussā pañcahi ābādhehi puṭṭhā Jīvakaṃ Komārabhaccaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṁ vadanti : sādhu no ācariya tikicchāhīti. ahaṁ kho 'yyo bahukicco bahukaraṇīyo rājā ca me Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro upaṭṭhātabbo itthāgārañ ca buddhapamukho ca bhikkhusaṇgho, nāhaṃ sakkomi tikicchitum ti. . . .".

[27] AIU, p. 22.

[28] BOD, IV, p. 92; VP, I 40, 3-4.

[29] BOD, IV, p. 130; VP, I, I, 1-4.

[30] BOD, IV, p. 131; VP, I, 2, 1-2.

While the Buddha was staying at Rājagaha, he, at the request of Mahāli, a member of Bimbisāra's retinue, expressed his desire to visit Vaiśāli (Vesālī).[32] When king Bimbisāra heard of it, he at once gave order to his ministers to reconstruct the whole road from Rājagaha to the Ganges for the Buddha. Because he would take this road for his intended visit to Vaiśāli and the distance of it was about five leagues. He built a rest house at the end of each league. He arranged flowers of five different colours knee deep on the road so that the Buddha would be able to walk smoothly. He also placed flags, banners and standards on both sides of the road. He also gave order to carry two white parasols, a higher and a lower, for the Buddha and a white parasol for each monk. He arranged everything for the comforts of the Master and his disciples during their journey from Rājagaha to the Ganges. Even then he was not happy. His devotion to the Buddha was unbounded. In order to look after him personally he himself took this journey. He offered flowers, perfumes and all requisites to him and his disciples throughout the journey. He requested him to take rest in each rest house for one night and they took five days to reach the Ganges. Arriving at the river the king decorated the two boats of the Buddha with flowers and jewels and when everything was ready the latter took his journey. Even after his departure the king did not come back. He waited there till his arrival from Vaiśāli. When he returned, the king brought him back to Rājagaha with pomp and grandeur.[33] These facts show the intensity of his devotion to the Buddha and his Order. It is known from the Vinaya Mahāvagga that Bimbisāra had summoned a meeting of all his superintendents of the 80,000 villages which came under his rule and gave them instruction in matters relating to worldly affairs. He then asked them to go to the Buddha to pay homage to him and to receive instructions in transcendental matters.[34] Khemā, who was born in a ruling family of Sāgala in the Madda kingdom, was the chief consort of Bimbisāra. She was a beautiful lady. At first she did not like to visit the Buddha. But it was due to the tactful method adopted by the king, she came to Veḷuvana to pay homage to the Buddha, who showed her the transiency of beauty and the vanity of lust. After taking permission from her husband she entered the Order of nuns and became an arhat. "She was ranked by the Buddha as foremost among the women for her great insight 'mahāpaññānam aggā'."[35] King Bimbisāra also showed his great respect to a thera named Pilindavaccha,[36] whom the king served on several occasions. Once he promised him that he would give him a monastery attendant (ārāmiko). But it was forgotten till five hundred days had passed, after which five hundred

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31. BOD, IV, p. 185; VO, I, 4, 3.
32. DhA, III, pp. 438 ff.
33. Ibid., III, pp. 439 ff.
34. BOD, IV, pp. 236-237; VP, I, I, 3-4.
35. AN, I, p. 25.
36. BOD, IV, p. 282; EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 116.

attendants were sent by him to the residence of the thera. A village, which came to be known as Ārāmikagāma (the village of the monastery-attendants) or Pillindagāma was also granted by the king for their maintenance and the thera used to go there for his alms-round.

King Bimbisāra had several sons. The Buddhist texts mention the names of five sons, namely, Kuṇika Ajātasattu (Ajātasatru), Abhaya-rājakumara, Vimala Koṇḍañña,[37] Vehalla and Sīlavat.[38] Buddhist tradition affirms that in his old age the king was murdered by Ajātasattu, the most powerful son of Bimbisāra, who was instigated to this heinous crime by the wicked and jealous Devadatta, cousin brother of the Buddha.[39] According to the chronicles of Ceylon, this event happened eight years before the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha.[40] Bimbisāra breathed his last with the words 'the Buddha and the Dhamma'.[41]

AJĀTASATTU (AJĀTASATRU) (493-462 B.C.)

Ajātasattu ascended the throne of Magadha in the 72nd year of the Buddha's life. Devadatta, a cousin and brother-in-law of the Buddha, joined the Saṅgha in the early years of the Buddha's missionary work and founded a rival school. He was patronised by Ajātasattu, who established a monastery for him at Gayāsīsa.[42] Devadatta was jealous of the Buddha. That is why he wanted to see the death of Bimbisāra, one of his foremost supporters. He incited Ajātasattu to kill his father and to occupy the throne of Magadha.[43] The latter did according to his advice. He also supported him in his attempts to kill the Buddha.[44] But ultimately he failed in all these nafarious attempts.

After ascending the throne of Magadha Ajātasattu extended the boundaries of his kingdom by his conquest and established the Magadhan empire on a solid foundation. The Ārya Mañjuśrī-mūla kalpa states that besides the kingdom of Magadha, his empire embraced Aṅga, Vārānaśī and Vaiśālī in the north.[45] The Buddhist texts mention that Bimbisāra, at the time of his marriage with Kosalā Devī, a princess and a sister of king Pasenadi of Kosala, received the gift of the Kāśi village as a dowry. But when the king (Bimbisāra) was murdered, his queen Kosalā Devī died of grief for him. After this incident Pasenadi refused to continue it and he revoked the gift of the Kāśi village. At this the war broke out between the two kingdoms. But in the end Pasenadi gave his daughter Vajirā in marriage to Ajātasattu with the Kāśi village as a dowry. Thus Ajātasattu united Kāśi or a part of it with his kingdom by matrimonial alliance.[46]

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[37] PS, p. 120; PB, p. 65.

[38] PB, p. 269.

[39] DN, I, p. 85.

[40] DV, III, 56-60; MV, II, 29-30.

[41] SV, I, p. 137 : "... So 'Aho Buddha, aho Dhammo'ti anussaranto yeva cetiyaṅgano khittamālā viya milāyitvā cātummahārājika-deva-loke vessavanassa paricārako janavasabho nāma yakkho hutvā nibbatti.' "

[42] JA, V, p. 186; EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 315.

[43] SV, I, pp. 135-170.

[44] Ibid., I, pp. 138-139; EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 316.

[45] AMMK, I, pp. 603 ff; PHAI, p. 214, f.n. 2.

At first Ajātasattu was a follower of Devadatta, who was an enemy of the Buddha. But later on, the king realised his mistakes and felt remorse for his past misdeeds and became a great admirer of the Buddha due to the advice and persuasion of his physician, Jīvaka. The interview between the Buddha and Ajātasattu was brought about by this eminent royal physician. It is said in the Buddhist texts that Ajātasattu had no peace in his mind because of his sinful deeds. For these reasons, he restrained himself from visiting the Buddha. One moon-lit night while he was sitting on the upper terrace roof of the palace with his ministers and Jīvaka he felt an intense desire of approaching a Samana or a Brāhmaṇa, who would be able to bring peace in his disturbed mind.[47] His ministers referred to him the names of several famous religious teachers of their age; but the king did not utter a word. But when Jīvaka spoke highly of the Buddha, he felt a great urge to meet him. The Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[48] refers to Jīvaka's arrangement of the meeting of Ajātasattu with the Buddha and the sermons preached by the latter on that occasion. The king accompanied by Jīvaka came to the latter's Mango Grove at Rājagaha, where the Buddha resided at that time with twelve hundred and fifty disciples. The former was surprised to see the silence of the great assembly. In excitement he asked Jīvaka "you are playing me no tricks, Jīvaka ? You are not deceiving me ? You are not betraying me to my foes ? How can it be that there should no sound at all, not a sneeze nor a cough, in so large an assembly"?[49] Jīvaka gave reply to the king : "Sire, the Blessed One, likes a low voice, and as he extols a low voice, his disciples speak softly. Have no suspicion, Great king. Be not afraid. Gently push your elephant on. The oil-lamps are burning in the younder resting shed." The king dismounted from the elephant and walked on foot, and on reaching the door-way of the resting-shed, inquired : "Where is the Blessed One ? What is his appearance ?" Jīvaka replied : "Sire, the Blessed One is he who is seated in the midst of the congregation of the Bhikshus, near the middle pillar, facing east." The king cast a glance at the Bhikshus, who remained quiet and silent, the Master appearing as if it were that he was seated in the midst of a calm and placid lake. "Would it be", wished the king, "that my son Udayabhadda will have this calmness of spirit." He went up to the Master and putting his upper garment over one shoulder touched the ground with his bended knee, and with clasped hands discussed some points concerning the visible reward of religious life. "What think you, Great King, have I not shown that there is a visible reward for a life of virtue ?" "Of a truth, you have, my

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46. SN, I, 82-86; JA, II, 403-404; JA, IV, 342-343; DhA, III, 259; EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 317.
47. SV, I, 141-142.
48. DN, I, pp. 49-86.
49. Ibid., I, pp. 49-50.

Lord", said the king, approving the words of the Great Teacher.[50] From the Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya we know that Videhiputta Ajātasattu bowed down at the feet of the Buddha and paid respect to the Bhikshu Saṅgha. It states : "Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā bhikkhu-saṅghassa añjaliṁ panāmetvā ekaṃ antaṃ nisīdi."[51] The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya mentions the king's great regard for the Buddha. It describes : "Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputtu Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati."[52] Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto bows down with his head at the feet of the Lord." The Buddha gave him a warm welcome and told nothing about his misdeeds. The king asked him about the effect of leading the life of a recluse. The latter delivered a discourse on this question.[53] The Sāmaññaphala Sutta was preached on this particular occasion. The king told the Buddha that before he came to him, he had paid visits to six religious teachers[54] but nobody brought solace to his perturbed mind. He became very happy after his meeting with the Buddha and he slept peacefully.[55] He confessed to him his great sin and he repented for it. He told "Transgression overcame me, Lord, in that in folly, stupidity and wickedness, for the sake of lordship, I deprived my righteous father, that righteous king of life. May the Lord accept it from me that I admit my transgression as such that I may be restrained in the future."[56] The Buddha told the king that in future he would attain self-restraint and the latter became a lay-devotee of the Buddha. This event took place in the 79th year of the Buddha, i.e., one year before his Mahāparinibbāna. Ajātasattu's visit to the Buddha has been preserved in stone sculpture on one of the monolithic corner pillars of the western gateway of the stūpa (thūpa) of Bhārhut, about one hundred twenty miles south-west of Allahabad. It helps us to corroborate the facts as narrated in the Buddhist texts. It states : "Ajātasattu Bhagavato vaṁdate" "Ajātasattu bows down in obeisance to the Divine Master."[57] Here the sculptor has tried his best to represent three different phases of the story of king Ajātasattu's visit to the Buddha. First, we see the king's procession to the garden, then, his dismounting from the elephant near the dwelling place of the Buddha; and lastly, his devotion at the Bodhimanda or Throne of the Buddha which is regarded as the symbol of the Buddha.[58] Ajātasattu's visit to the Buddha and his talk with him marked a turning point in his religious life. He turned over a new leaf after his meeting with him and became his staunch follower. Once Upaka Maṇḍikāputta or Upaka, the son of Maṇḍikā, spoke impolitely to the Buddha. When the king heard of this he became furious.[59] He told "what a pestilent fellow is this salt worker's boy. A scurrilous, shameless rogue. To think that he should presume to revile that Exalted One, the Arhanta, the Fully-Enlightened One. Away with you, Upaka. Let me see you no more."[60]

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[50] BH, II, pp. 45-46; MB, pp. 333-357.

[51] DN, I, pp. 50-51.

[52] BHI, p. 63.

[53] DN, I, 49-86.

[54] EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 317 : Purāṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Nigantha Nāṭaputta and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta.

[55] SV, I, p. 238.

[56] DN, I, p. 85; EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 318.

[57] Ibid., Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 318; BH, II, p. 42.

[58] BH, II, p. 42.

[59] AN, II, p. 182.

During the reign of Ajātasattu the Lichchhavīs, who formed a constituent part of the Vajjian confederacy and who were then at the height of glory of their power as the head of a vast confederacy, played an important role in Indian politics. The king was not happy with them and understood that their presence had disturbed his way to realisation of his idea of expansion of the Magadhan empire. He wanted to bring them to utter ruin and to conquer them in order to annex their kingdom to the Magadhan dominion. But before he waged war against the Lichchhavīs he had sent his minister and confidant Vassakāra to the Buddha to take his advice and to know his opinion relating to his chance of victory in the war against the Lichchhavīs. This event happened a year before the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. The latter spoke out in praise of the Lichchhavis and told him about their seven conditions of national welfare (satta aparihāniyadhammā)[61] which they practised for the welfare of the state. For this reason they were invincible. But the Buddha predicted that in future "the Lichchhavis would be delicate, having soft hands and feet, would use very luxurious and soft beds with soft pillows made of cotton, would sleep till sunrise", so the time would come when they would change their mode of living

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60. Ibid, II, p. 182.
61. DN, II, pp. 72 ff; AN, IV, pp.16-17: (1) They held frequent public meetings of their tribe which they all attended. (2) They met together to make their decisions and carried out their undertakings in concord. (3) They upheld traditions and honoured their pledges. (4) They respected and supported their elders. (5) No women or girls were allowed to be taken by force or abduction. (6) They maintained and paid due respect to their places of worship. (7) They supported and fully protected the holy men (arhats) among them.

    AN, IV, pp. 16-17 : "Katame ca Licchavī satte aparihāniyā dhammā ? Yāvakīvañ ca Liubhavī vajjī abhiṇhaṁ sannipātā bhavissanti sannipātabahutā, vuddhi yeva Licchavī vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā, np parihāni. Yāvakīvañ ca Licchavī Vajjī samaggā sannipatissanti, samaggā vuṭṭhahissanti, samaggā Vajjī karaṇiyāṇi karissanti, vuddhi yeva Licchavī vajjīnaṃ pāṭikankhā, no parihāni. Yāvakīvañ ca Licchavī vajjī apaññattam na paññāpessanti paññaṭṭaṃ na samucchindissanti, yathā paññatte porāṇe Vajjīdhamme samādāya vattissanti, vuddhi yeva Licchavī Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā, np parihāni. Yāvakīvañ ca Licchavī Vajjī, ye Vajjīnaṃ Vajjīmahallakā, te sakkarissanti garukarissanti mānassanti pūjessanti tesañ ca sotabbaṃ maññissantii, vuddhi yeva Licchavī Vujjīnam pāṭikaṅkhā, no parihāni. Yāvakīvañ ca Licchavī Vajjī, yā tā kulitthiyo kulakumāriyo, tā na okkassa pasayha vāsessanti, vuddhi yeva Licchavī Vajjīnam pāṭikaṅkhā, no parihāni. Yāvakīvañ ca Licchavī Vajjī, yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajjīcetayāni abbhantarāni c'eva bāhirāni ca, tāni sakkarissanti garukarissanti mānessanti pūjessanti tesañ ca dinnapubbaṃ katapubbaṃ dhammikam balim no parihapessanti, viddhi yeva Licchavī Vajjīnaṃ pātikaṅkhā, no parihāni. Yāvakīvañ ca Licchavī Vajjīnam arhantesu dhammikā rakkhāvaraṇagutti susamvihitā bhavissanti 'kinti anāgatā ca arahanto vijjtaṃ āgaccheyyuṃ, āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsuṃ vihareyyum' ti vuddhi yeva Licchavī Vajjīnam pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni."

    "Yāvakīvañ ca Licchavī ime satta aparihāniya dhammā Vajjīsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu Vajjī sandississanti, vuddhi yeva Licchavī Vajjīnaṃ pātikaṅkhā, no parihāni ti."

and then the chance of victory for Ajātasattu would come.[62] He told further that 'by no other means would the Vajjians be overcome but by propitiating them with tributes or dissolving the subsisting union'.[63] Ajātasattu's chance of victory came after three years. It was due to Vassakāra's diplomacy and treachery he succeeded in breaking up their union and the king easily conquered them.

The Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha took place in the eighth year of Ajātasattu's reign.[64] His ministers hesitated to give the sad news to him at first. When they informed him he fainted immediately and behaved like a mad man.[65] From frescoes covering the walls of a walk around a stūpa at Qyzyl in the Kuch area of north-central Turkistan of the Tocharian period of the sixth century A.D. it is also known that the news of the passing away of the Buddha was communicated with great care to the king who had no idea of it. His ministers informed him by a device. Vassakāra, his minister, asked him to take a bath in melted butter. While he was doing this soothing treatment, the minister showed him the principal events of the Buddha's life viz., the birth of prince Siddharttha or Siddhattha, his enlightenment, his first sermon, his Mahāparinibbāna in the Sāla-grove at Kusinagara, in a painting on a canvas. This had helped him to inform the Great Decease of the Master to the king without uttering a single word. The latter cried out in despair when he saw the last scene,[66] i.e., when he learnt of the Great Loss. The king sent envoys to the Mallas, who were present during the time of the Mahāparinibbāna, claiming his share of the Buddha's relics, "the Exalted One was a kṣatriya and so am I. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will I put up a sacred cairn and in their honour will I celebrate a feast."[67] When he received a share of the Buddha's relics, he erected a stone stūpa at Rājagaha[68] over the remains and celebrated a feast. All round his capital city, Rājagaha, he built several Dhātucetiyas.[69] He also repaired eighteen Mahāvihāras at Rājagaha, deserted by the Buddhist monks just after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha.[70]

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62. SN, II, p.268.
63. BS, p. 200.
64. MV, II, 32.
65. SV, II, 605-606.
66. AIA, plate 612, pp. 203-204; EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 320; TWB, pp. 114, 305-306.
67. DN, II, p. 164 : "Atha kho Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu vedehi putto Koshinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesi : Bhagavā pi khattiyo ahaṃ pi khattiyo. Ahaṃ pi arahāmi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgam, ahaṃ pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmīti."
68. SV, II, 610; DN, II, pp. 164-166 :
    Hiuen tsang saw a stūpa erected by Ajātasattu to the western side of Veḷuvana. But the Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa mentions that it was within the Veḷuvana. The stūpa has been identified with the remains of a stone stūpa in a mound near the modern road. . . . BIA, p. 52, f.n.6.
69. MV, p.247 : Shrines over the relics.
70. SP, I, 9-10.

The name of Ajātasattu is also associated with the well-known First Buddhist Council (Dhammasaṅgiti) which was held in the Sattapaṇṇi cave at Rājagaha two months after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. He extended his warm support and patronage for the successful transaction and accomplishment of the Council by giving it full facilities. Subhadda, the last convert of the Buddha, became happy at the demise of the Teacher. He told other monks that henceforward they would be able to do at their own will and there would be none to rebuke them. It is recorded that a thera named Subhadda "exhorted the monks, who were vociferous in their lamentations, to refrain from expressing grief, and called upon them to think the occasion a good riddance. Since they were treated as so many schoolboys by the Master, who often admonished them for their unbecoming conduct, they would now be free to do as they thought fit without let or hindrance."[71] Subhadda's utterances had a bad effect on the Saṅgha. Then the monks decided to convene a council at Rājagaha. The monks approached Ajātasattu for his active co-operation and he gladly consented to give all possible help for the success of the council. The latter built a splendid hall at the entrance of the Sattapaṇṇi cave on the Vebhāra hill and decorated it with precious mats. He arranged a noble seat for the presiding thera on the south side and a lofty seat for the reciting monk in the middle of the hall.[72] He also arranged accommodation and food for the monks. About five hundred Buddhist monks attended this council. Mahākassapa acted as its president. Upāli recited the Vinaya and Ānanda the Suttas. In Chinese records we find a more elaborate account of Ajātasattu's contribution to the council of Rājagaha. When Mahākassapa and five hundred arhats informed him of their intentions to convene a council, he readily gave his consent to help them in every way. He had the roads to Rājagaha cleared and placed all kinds of offerings along the route. He did a splendid job for the welfare and comforts of the participant monks and the success of the council. On one occasion, the Buddha rescued him when he, who went to see the former entering the city, fell from a raised pavilion. But this time Mahākassapa saved him. When he was about to fall to the ground from his elephant, Mahākassapa, by his supernatural power, seized him and remarked: "the supernatural power of the Tathāgata manifests itself without particular concentration, but in his disciples this requires very special will-power. If I had not exercised my will thus, you would have been killed in your fall. Be more careful in future". Then Ajātasattu bowed down with his head at his feet and requested him with these words : "When the Blessed One entered Nirvāṇa, I was not able to see him. But when you enter Nirvāṇa, allow me to be present." He consented and informed the king about the recital of the Dhamma at Rājagaha. The latter then told : "henceforth, and as long as I shall be alive, I shall donate to the Saṅgha clothing, food, medicine and bedding. I beg the members of the Order to stay in the Bamboo Grove." But Mahākassapa thought of the interference of the resident monks in their work and spoke to the king : "there is a

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71. YB, pp. 35-36.
72. MV, III, 19-22; EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 320,

mountain cave named Pi-po-lo-yen (Pippalāyana). Allow us to compile the collected sayings of the teachings there."[73] We know further from Chinese records that when the monks assembled for the cremation of the body of the Buddha, Mahākassapa told them : "the relics of the Blessed One are not our business. The kings, heads of families, brāhmaṇas, householders and the many who search for merit will pay due respect to the relics. Our business is to gather the collections of the teaching to prevent a speedy disappearance of the Buddha's doctrine." Immediataly they discussed about the place of the meeting to gather the collections of the teaching. They talked about Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī), Sāketa, Campā, Vaiśālī (Vesālī) and Kapilāvatthu (Kapilāvastu). But Mahākasspa spoke on this occasion : "We must go to the town of Rājagaha and there bring together the collected sayings of the Doctrine. And for what reason ? The Blessed One has predicted that in the town of Rājagaha, Ajātasattu, the son of Vedehi princess, was by far the most pre-eminent[74] among his lay-followers, having faith without root-conditions as concomitant. Moreover this king has sleeping accommodation, and food offerings for five hundred individuals. It is there we should go."[75]

Like Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu had his great regard for the Buddha and his religion. It was due to Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu the Buddha gained a very wide popularity in Magadha. Though Ajātasattu became his lay-devotee in his 79th year i.e., one year before his Mahāparinibbāna, he too, made a substantial contribution for his great popularity in Magadha. It was most probably not only for Bimbisāra but for Ajātasattu also the Buddha was able to establish himself in the heart of the Magadhan people and Buddhism also made a valuable progress there. Ajātasattu reigned for twenty-four years[76] and was succeeded by his son Udāyibhadda.[77]

The Jain texts represent both the kings, Bimbisāra and his son Ajātasattu as followers of the Jain faith. The Uttarādhyana Sūtra[78] (Uttarajjhayaṇa Sūya) narrates how Seṇiya Bimbisāra, 'the lion of kings' (rājasīha) visited the great ascetic Mahāvīra, 'the lion of homeless ascetics' (anagāra-sīha) at the Maṇḍikukṣi caitya where "the king together with his wives, servants and relations became a staunch believer in the Law with a pure mind."[79] Hemacandra also informs us that "when the country was under a blight of cold, the king accompanied by Devi Chellanā went to worship Mahāvīra."[80]

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[73] EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p. 320; CCTBT, pp.22-53.

[74] Ajātasattu's name, however, is not mentioned in the long list of pre-eminent disciples, found in the Aṅguttara Nikāya : AN, I, XIV, pp. 23-26.

[75] EB, Fascicle : Acala-Akan, p.321.

[76] SP, I, pp. 72-73.

[77] MV, IV, I.

[78] US, XX; AIU, p.21.

[79] SJCS, p. 144.

[80] AIU, p. 21; TSS, X, 6, 10, 11.

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Like his father Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu also figures as a devotee of Mahāvīra and an admirer of his disciples in Jain literature.[81] The Aupapātika Sūtra (Ovavāiya Sūya) gives a detailed description of (Kuṇika) Ajātasatru's journey and visit to Mahāvīra.[82] On one occasion he declared his unflinching faith in Mahāvīra whom he considered "as the ture teacher who had made clear the true path of religion based on renunciation and non-violence."[83]

Thus the Jain Āgamas claim Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru as adherents of the Jain faith, while the Buddhist texts declare them as Buddhists. There is no clear indication in the Jain or Buddhist literature as to whether 'they were supporters of the religions at different times or at the same time in different degrees.' But as a matter of fact, we cannot ignore these literary traditions as imaginary history. It seems, however, to be fairly certain that there is some truth underlying these independent traditions relating to the religious beliefs of the Magadhan monarchs belonging to Haryaṅka dynasty. N. Dutt reconciles the statements of the Buddhist texts with those of the Jain literature concerning the respective faiths of the two kings. His observation in this respect is worth quoting as a sound judgment drawn from the literary traditions discrepant in many particulars. He observes thus : "The facts of the lives of the two emperors, however, point to the inference that Bimbisāra supported Jainism when it appeared on the field but inclined decidedly towards Buddhism when it asserted itself as a rival of Jainism. Ajātasatru was a supporter of Devadatta who initiated a sect holding views similar to Jainism so far as its discipline was concerned. Abhayarājakumara, a Jain, expostulated with the Buddha for condemning Devadatta. This shows that Devadatta had Jain sympathies and Ajātasatru by supporting him shows the nature of his religious views. He, however, was converted to Buddhism a year before Buddha's Parinibbana."[84]

THE KOSALAN DYNASTY

PASENADI (PRASENAJIT)

Pasenadi, the son of king Mahākosala, was the king of Kosala which corresponds roughly to modern Oudh. He flourished in the sixth century B.C.[85] and was a contemporary of the Buddha. Rhys Davids points out on the evidence of the Divyāvadāna that his personal name was Agnidatta,[86] and Pasenadi was evidently 'an honorific name or a title assumed by the king of Kosala.' He took his education at Taxilā (Takkaśilā). Mahāli, a Lichchhavī prince, and Bandhukala, a Malla prince, were his class mates.[87] One of the later Buddhist

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81. AS, 12, 27, 30; AVS, pp. 684, 687; PSP, IV.
82. LAIJC, pp. 390-391.
83. AIU, p. 26; AS, 30.
84. EHSBBS, p. 89.
85. PHAI, p. 102.
86. BI, p. 10; DVY, p. 620.
87. DPPN, II, p. 168; BS, p. 208; DhA, I, pp. 337-338; BRWW, II, 2, n.31.

texts refer to king Mahākosala's felicitation at his son's success and proficiency that he acquired in the various arts after his coming back from Taxilā and the immediate announcement of his name as the king of Kosala.[88] But we do not know anything whether he ascended the throne during the lifetime of his father. But it is very probable that he became the king of Kosala after his death. His kingdom extended from the Gumti to the little Gaṇḍak and from the Nepālese Tarāi to the Ganges.[89] It even extended to the eastern part of the Kaimur range.[90] He conquered Kāśi and was able to spread his influence over the Sākyas of Kapilāvatthu (Kapilāvastu), the Kālāmas of Kesaputta and other adjoining states.[91] He was an able ruler and performed his administrative duties very efficiently.[92] He 'figures as one of the most important rulers of the time.' He loved the companionship of wise and good men.[93]

The Buddhist texts record many stories about Pasenadi's conversations with the Buddha and the part played by him for the latter's popularity and the advancement of the religion in his kingdom. He was of the same age with the Buddha, who had a great love for the Kosalans. In the Pabbajjā Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta[94] the Buddha states "Just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. They are Ādichchas[95] by family, Śākiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures." The Majjhima Nikāya refers to the Buddha as a Kosalan.[96] Pasenadi often expressed "Bhagavā pi Kosalako ahaṃ pi Kosalako", "Our Lord also belongs to Kosala so do I also." He admired the Śākya clan as the Buddha belonged to it. He at the time of his first meeting with Śākyamuni at Jetavana, asked him a question that though younger in age the Buddha himself called a Buddha but the six heretical teachers, who were seniors to him in age and in point of the time of ordination, never called themselves the Buddhas. But he was so pleased with the Buddha's reply that he became his follower[97] and close friend. His friendship lasted till his death. He used to visit the Buddha frequently. It is said that he visited him three times a day. He had discussion with the Buddha and received instructions from him on various matters. In age they were equals and, that is why, their discussions were intimate and frank. The Samyutta Nikāya refers to their discussions. The Buddha gives a sermon to Pasenadi to the effect "that one who is born must meet with decay and death, that the self of one who commits three kinds of sin is unprotected and it becomes an enemy to him, that one who is in possession of great wealth often becomes attached to world, that lobha (avarice), dosa (hatred) and moha (delusion) arise in a person and trouble him and that earnestness is the only virtue which gives happiness in this life as well as in after life."[98] Pasenadi's conversations with the Buddha made him his ardent admirer. The Dahara Sutta describes his first meeting and conversation with the Buddha which resulted in the conversion of Pasenadi who declared himself an adherent of the Buddha.[99] His devotion to the Buddha was so great that when he met him, he bowed down with his head at the feet of the Buddha and worshipped him with kisses.[100] During the latter's visit to Sāvatthi Pasenadi offered valuable gifts to him on an immense scale for a week under the instruction of his wife Mallikā. These gifts were known in the Buddhist texts as asadisdāna[101] or incomparable charity. It is said that among the Buddha's followers Pasenadi ranked to be the foremost in offering gifts to the Buddha and the Saṅgha. It indicates him as a king of charitable disposition and his love for the Buddha and the Saṅgha. When Kāla, his minister, did not appreciate the way the king had spent the money at the alms-giving, the latter became angry with the former and ordered him to leave the court. The minister was practically banished from the royal court. But the king was happy with Juṇha, his another minister, who helped him at the alms-giving and the king asked him to rule over the kingdom for seven days.[102]

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[88] DhA, I, p. 338.

[89] PHAI, p. 199.

[90] Ibid., p. 199; AIU, p. 4.

[91] Ibid., p. 199; ibid., p. 4.

[92] SN, I, pp. 74 ff; SRP, I, pp. 109 ff; DhA, IV, pp. 56-65.

[93] DPPN, II, p. 169.

[94] KN, I, pp. 329-330.

[95] Belonging to the Aditya (Solar) race.

[96] MN, II, 124. ". . . bhante Bhagavā pi Khattiyo, aham pi Khattiyo, Bhagavā pi Kosalako, ahaṃ pi Kosalako, Bhagavā pi āsītiko, ahaṃ pi āsītiko. . . ."

[97] SN, I, pp. 68-70; AN, V, pp. 65 ff; DVY, p. 154.

Once Pasenadi gave alms to the Buddha and his one thousand monks for seven days. On the seventh day he requested the Buddha to take his meal regularly at the palace with five hundred monks. He declined. But Ānanda, at the request of the Buddha, came daily to the palace for food with five hundred monks. But the monks felt neglected and they refused to come to the palace. When Pasenadi came to learn of this fact he was greatly upset and felt remorse for his neglect of duty in this respect. In order to gain the confidence of the Buddhist monks, he sent envoys to the Śākya capital asking for a daughter of a Śākya chief as his wife. But the Śākya chief instead of sending him the legitimate daughter of the Śākya race, sent Vāsabhakhattiyā, who was the daughter of Mahānāma, a Śākya chief, and of a slave woman, and Pasenadi married her. His earnest desire to get a Śākya wife and his marriage with Vāsabhakhattiyā are clear indications of his admiration not only for the Buddha but also for the Śākya clan, as the latter belonged to it. He had a son by this marriage. When he knew that Vāsabhakhattiyā was the daughter of a slave woman, she and her son lost all their royal honours and status and were treated like slaves. When the Buddha came to know of it he delivered the Kaṭṭhahārika Jātaka to Pasenadi. Vāsabhakhattiyā and her son regained their lost honours and the king was happy after his talk with the Buddha.[103] His other son, Brahmadatta joined the the Saṅgha at an early age and became an arhat.[104] His sister Sumanā also joined the Saṅgha as a Bhikkhunī (nun) and attained arhatship.[105] In front of the Jetavuna he built a monastery called the Kājakārāma where the Buddha stayed for sometime.[106] It is said that at the request of the Buddha the king gave it to the nuns and Sumanā stayed there. When his grandmother died, he and Sumanā offered all her possessions to the Buddhist monks, who did not accept them. But the Buddha gave them special permission to accept her possessions.[107] This shows his great kindness towards Pasenadi who had great regard for him and patronised him strongly in his missionary activities. It is said that he paid homage to those who received the Master's praise[108] and did not pay any attention to those who dishonoured the Buddha's teaching.[109]

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[98] SN, I, pp. 72-87.

[99] SN, I, pp. 69-70 : "... Upāsakaṃ maṃ bhante Bhagavā dhāretu ajjatagge pāṇupetam saraṇam gatan-ti.

[100] MN, II, p. 120.

[101] VV, pp. 5-6.

[102] DhA, III, pp. 188 ff.

King Pasenadi's visit to the Buddha, the Enlightened Teacher, has been preserved in stone sculpture on one of the railing-pillars of the southern gateway of the stūpa of Bhārhut. It states "Rājā Pasenaji Kosalo" (King Pasenajit of Kosala), "Bhagavato Dhammachakam" (the Dharmacakra of the Divine Master).[110] This is a piece of sculpture representing a scene of the visit of king Pasenadi of Kosala to the Buddha. It is clear that the bas-relief represents a grand royal procession, as well as a solemn scene of King Pasenadi's interview with the Buddha.[111] In Buddhist literature several visits of king Pasenadi are recorded. But his last visit seems to have been represented in this bas-relief. Here we may refer to the Dhammacetiya Sutta[112] which records his last visit and conversation with the Buddha. According to the Majjhima Nikāya Commentary,[113] this was his last interview with the Buddha and during his absence Dīgha-Kārāyana, the Commander-in-chief of the Kosalan monarch, crowned Viḍūḍabha as king of Kosala. The Bhārhut bas-relief sufficiently indicates that Pasenadi was held in high esteem and considered as a patron of the religion of Śākyamuni even by the Buddhists of the 2nd or 3rd century B.C.[114]

THE AVANTI DYNASTY

CAṆḌA PAJJOTA (CAṆḌA PRADYOTA MAHĀSENA)

In the time of the Buddha Caṇḍa Pajjota (Mahāsena) was the king of Avanti,

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103. DhA, I, 339 ff; JA, I, 133 ff; IV, 144 ff.
104. THC, I, 460; DPPN, II, p. 332.
105. THIC, p. 22; SN, I, p. 97; AN, III, p. 32.
106. JA, II, 15.
107. VP, II, 169.
108. MN, II, 100; DhA, II, 150; III, 288.
109. SN, I, pp. 153 ff.
110. BH, II, pp. 46 ff; BHI, p. 54.
111. BH, II, p. 48.
112. MN, II, pp. 118-225.
113. MNA, II, p. 753; JA, IV, p. 151,
114. EHSBBS, p. 71,

which roughly corresponded to the Ujjain (Ujjayini or Ujjeni) region, together with a part of the Narmadā valley from Māndhātā to Maheswar and certain adjoining districts.[115] Ujjain was his capital in the time of Mahāvira and the Buddha. S. Beal in his Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha[116] mentions Pajjota as a bright lamp and his personal strength was exceptionally very great. Another Buddhist text says that he was known as Pajjota because of the illumination of the world as if by a lamp at the time of his birth.[117] He was a powerful king and his neighbouring kings were always afraid of him. Apprehending danger from him, Ajātasattu fortified his capital, Rājagaha and on one occasion Udayana (Udena), the king of Vatsa, was imprisoned by him.[118] He is also said to have waged war on Pushkarasārin (Pukkusāti), the king of Gandhāra.[119]

Caṇḍa Pajjota, the contemporary of the Buddha, was converted to Buddhism by Mahākaccāyana, the son of the royal priest. After his father's death, Mahākaccāyana became the royal chaplain of Caṇḍa Pajjota, who sent him to the Buddha to bring him to his kingdom. He, with his seven companions, came to Benares to pay homage to the Buddha, who delivered several discourses to them and taught them Dhamma. They became monks and attained arhatship. Then they requested the Buddha to come to Avanti, saying "Lord ! King Pajjota desires to worship at your feet and hear Dhamma." But the Buddha did not come to Avanti. He asked them to go back to their native place to establish the religion there and to satisfy the king. After their arrival in Avanti they introduced Buddhism there. Caṇḍa Pajjota became a lay-devotee of the Buddha after listening to the Buddha's teaching from them.[120] Under his patronage, Mahākaccāyana converted many people to Buddhism and established several monasteries at Kuraraghara, Papātapabbata and Makkarakaṭa. It was due to the king's devotion to the Buddha, Avanti became famous as an important centre of Buddhism during the life time of the Buddha. Mahākaccāyana's vigorous activities had helped the king in various ways in his religious works and the latter used to take advice from him in matters of religious interest.[121] The king became a zealous patron of the Buddha and his religion and offered valuable gifts to the Saṅgha.

THE VATSA DYNASTY

UDENA (UDAYANA)

Udena (Udayana), the son of king Śatānīka Parantapa, was the king of the country of Vatsa. His capital was Kosambi (Kauśāmbi), now represented by modern Kosam, a village, on the Jumnā, near Allahabad.[122]

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115. PHAI, p. 144.
116. RLSB, p. 29.
117. LB, 32, f.n. 1.
118. PHAI, pp. 204, 214-215; MN, III, 7.
119. PHAI, p. 204.
120. PB, pp. 238-239; TG, vv. 496-501.
121. THC, I, p. 483.
122. DPPN, I, 694; PHAI, p. 131.

Udena was a contemporary of the Buddha. At first he did not show his favour towards the Buddha and Saṅgha. His queen Sāmāvatī, the adopted daughter of Ghosaka, was a great devotee of the Buddha and played a great role to popularise Buddhism in her husband's kingdom. When she was converted to Buddhism by Khujjuttarā, her female attendant, king Udena's another wife Māgandiyā tried to poison the king's mind against the former. But afterwards the king realised his mistake and felt sorry for it. After this incident the Buddha at her request asked Ānanda with five hundred monks to go to the palace of Udena every day to deliver discourses to the women who offered valuable gifts and costly robes to him and his five hundred companions. The king asked him about the result of the gifts. He answered 'nothing given to the members of the Saṅgha was wasted.' The king was extremely happy and he himself gave four hundred costly robes to him.[123] This incident took place before his conversion to Buddhism.

There are many stories in the Buddhist texts about the conversations between king Udena and Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, a former Buddhist monk of Kosambi, and the latter's great influence in the life of the former and his valuable services to the cause of Buddhism in the Vatsa country. It is said that the king was not happy with Piṇḍola Bharadvāja at first. He tortured him and even put him in a nest of brown ants.[124] But later he changed his mind. He showed his friendliness towards him and visited him several times. He had long discussions with him on religious matters and questioned him in many ways to satisfy his spiritual hunger. He asked him the cause of the motive of the young monks, who in spite of their youth, were able to lead the pure life of recluses. At this Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, after giving a brief introduction, told him that the Buddha instructed the monks to mediate upon the bodies and to restrain their senses.[125] After listening to his teaching, King Udena gladly accepted Buddhism as his religion and became a lay-devotee of the Buddha.[126] He was an enthusiast in the cause of the religion and sincerely gave his help to popularise Buddhism in his kingdom. He offered meals daily to many monks at his palace and patronised the Saṅgha heartily.[127] During his reign several monasteries were constructed and when the Buddha visited Kosambi he stayed there. Due to the king's patronage to the Buddha and his Saṅgha, Kosambi like Rājagaha became a great centre of Buddhism.

PUKKUSĀTI (PUSHKARASARIN) OF GANDHĀRA AND RUDRĀYANA OF SAUVIKA (SOVIRA)

PUKKUSĀTI

Pukkusāti was the king of Gandhāra which comprised the modern districts

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123. VP, II, p. 291.
124. SRP, III, p. 27; JA, IV, pp. 375 ff.
125. SN, IV, pp. 110-113.
126. Ibid., IV, p. 113; LB, p. 74.
127. BL, I, p. 84.

of Peshawar (Purushapura) and Rawalpindi in the North-western Punjab.[128] It appears to have been included Kashmir. King Pukkusāti's capital was Taxilā. He occupied the throne of Gandhāra in the middle of the sixth century B.C. He established his friendly relations with Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, who was his contemporary, and close cultural ties existed between the two countries. The Cīvara-vastu in Gilgit manuscripts gives a long account of Jīvaka's education at Taxilā where King Pukkusāti held sway.[129] Having mastered medicine Jīvaka wanted to learn the 'Kapālimocanī-vidyā' from a renowned physician named Ātreya of Taxilā. Bimbisāra sent him there with a letter of introduction to king Pukkusāti. His letter to the Gandhāra king and Jīvaka's medical education at Taxilā clearly indicate the existence of close ties between the kings of these two kingdoms. Pukkusāti is said to have sent envoys with a letter to the court of Bimbisāra and he declared war against Pajjota, the king of Avanti, who was defeated at his hands.[130]

King Pukkusāti was a contemporary of the Buddha. It was through king Bimbisāra's efforts that he felt interested in Buddhism. Bimbisāra sent ambassadors with valuable gifts including an inscribed golden plate which contained descriptions of the Three Jewels and of various tenets relating to the Buddha's teachings to him.[131] After reading the inscription on the plate he joined the Saṅgha as a Buddhist monk. Then he came to Rājagaha to pay homage to the Buddha, who preached to him the Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta.[132] He, too, like other contemporary kings, probably patronised Buddhism. But we do not know how far he was successful in his works to establish Buddhism in his kingdom.

RUDRĀYANA

The throne of Roruka (in Sovīra or Sauvīra or the Lower Indus valley) was occupied in the days of the Buddha by Rudrāyana, an unseen ally of king Bimbisāra. It was through Bimbisāra that he received first the news of the advent of the Buddha in Magadha. On one occasion king Bimbisāra sent him an inscribed plate containing some of the cardinal tenets of Buddhism. On seeing these, his mind was filled with agitation and he was so much impressed with this spirit of the inscribed letters that he became a lay disciple (upāsaka) and ultimately he entered the Order as a monk.[133] Thus it was king Bimbisāra through whose efforts Buddhism could obtain a footing in the Sauvīra country during the life-time of the Buddha.

128. AIU, p. 14; PHAI, p. 146; DPPN, I, p. 749.
129. GM, III, Part II, p. XVI; BCLV, I, p. 138.
130. DPPN, II, p. 21. ; PHAI, p. 147.
131. PMNK, II, p. 121 : " . . . . Takkasilāyan rājakule nibbattitvā Pukkusāti nāma rājā hutvā Bhagavantan uddissa pabhajitvā Rājagahan āgacchanto Kumbhakārasālāyan Bhagavato dhammadesanam sutvā anāgāmiphalan patto . . . ".
132. DPPN, II, p. 215.
133. DVY, pp. 550 ff; EHSBBS, p. 190.

CONTEMPORARY REPUBLIC CLANS

THE ŚĀKYAS

The Sakyas (Śākyas) belonged to the solar (Āditya) race and claimed their descent from the family of king Ikṣvāku. They lived in a state which was bordered on the north by the Himālayas, on the south and west by the river Rāptī and on the east by the river Rohiṇi.[134] Their capital was Kapilāvatthu (Kapilāvastu). They were vassals of king Pasenadi of Kosala.[135] King Pasenadi often expressed "Bhagavā pi Kosalako ahaṃ pi Kosalako", "our Lord also belongs to Kosala so do I also". Though the Śākya kingdom was included within the border of Kosala, the Śākyas were politically independent and formed a separate entity from the social standpoint with customs and practices peculiar to themselves.[136] The Śākyas were the kinsmen of the Buddha. Before his birth they were not very powerful people and were quite unknown in Indian history. But after his enlightenment, they became famous and established themselves as one of the most important clans, because the Buddha himself belonged to it. It was due to him that they acquired a great importance in Indian history.

The Śākyas were the Kṣatriyas. The Śākyas of Kapilāvatthu who claimed to be Kṣatriyas, after receiving the news of the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, demanded a share of his relics, requesting with these words "Bhagavā amhākaṃ ñātiseṭṭho", "The Blessed One was the chief of our kinsmen."[137] The other clans also demanded a portion of the relics of the Buddha on the ground that they belonged to the same caste. They said "Bhagavā pi Khattiyo, mayam pi khattiyā", "the Blessed One is Kṣatriya, we are also Kṣatriyas". The Śākya were the worshippers of the Brāhmanic religion. When king Suddhodana heard that his son had attained perfect enlightenment after six years of austerities and was residing in Rājagaha, he sent a message to the Buddha requesting him to visit Kapilāvatthu. Accompanied by his disciples he arrived there and stopped at the Nigrodha park on the outskirts of the city. But the Śākyas in their pride did not like to receive him when they saw with the monk's dress. Even the king, who started to receive him, returned to the palace when his people gave him the description of his dress and of his followers. After this incident, Kāḷudāyi, one of the Buddha's disciples, with his permission, appeared before the king and his ministers miraculously from the sky and convinced them of the greatness of the Buddha.[138] The Jātaka mentions that due to their haughtiness they did not make obeisance to the Buddha on the ground of his youth.[139] In order to receive him,

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[134] AI, p. 161; BU, pp. 95-96.
[135] MN, II, 124.
[136] EMB, I, pp. 170-171.
[137] DN, II, 165.
[138] MHVU, III, pp. 101 ff.
[139] JA, VI, pp. 246-247.

they deputed some young Śākyas, who were junior to the Buddha in age.[140] After listening to the Buddha's doctrine of complete severance from Kāma, Daṇḍapāni Sakka was not happy at all and he left the place of meeting.[141] The Śākyas even refused to give alms to the Buddha and his disciples and a suitable accommodation during their stay in the capital. They had to spent one night at the hermitage of his fellow-disciple, Bharaṇḍukālāma.[142] In order to convince the Śākyas of his superiority, the Buddha performed a miracle by rising into the air and taking his seat upon a jewelled platform.[143] The king and his subjects were astonished at the performance of his miracle and prostrated themselves before him and paid his homage. At the request of Yasodharā, the mother of Rāhula Suddhodana did his best to dissuade the Buddha from begging his food from door to door which was not befitting the son of a king.[144] The Buddha then gave a reply that begging was worthy of the lineage of the Buddhas, who were in the habit of living on alms. On this occasion he delivered a discourse to the king, who became his lay-devotee. He then received the Buddha's bowl and requested him and his followers to come to the palace to take food. All the members of the king's family paid their homage to him. After this event the Śākyas accepted his religion and they were so enlightened by his teaching that they realised "the perfect fruit of righteousness". The Buddha's return to Kapilāvatthu has been preserved in stone on the eastern gate of Stūpa I of Sāñchi of the first century B.C.[145] The panel shows king Suddhodana's coming in a chariot, followed by a retinue to receive the Buddha. The long and narrow flag stone on the panel represents his rising in the air, the miracle which gave surprise to the Śākyas. King Suddhodana's homage to the Buddha at Kapilāvatthu has also been preserved in stone on the northern gate of Stūpa I of Sāñchi of the first century B.C.[146] The panel shows king Suddhodana with his hands joined in adoration near a banyan tree. A throne symbolises the presence of the Buddha. An attendant holds an umbrella over the king's head.

Mahānāma, who was a follower of Jainism, showed his great love for the religion of the Buddha when the latter gave a sermon on the uselessness of the severe forms of self-mortification practised by the Jain ascetics.[147] King Suddhodana and Mahāpajāpati Gotamī made an arrangement for the royal consecration of their son Nanda, and also for the celebration of his marriage with Janapada-Kalyāṇī. Before the completion of the ceremonies the Buddha who was then residing at Kapilāvatthu, arrived there and offered to Nanda his begging bowl and asked him to become a monk.[148] In order to please the Buddha Nanda became a monk. But all the time he wanted to go back to his wife. On seeing his condition, the Buddha took him to heaven by a miracle. He saw a one-eyed female monkey on the way and a bevy of celestial nymphs in heaven. He realised that his wife was like the one-eyed monkey as compared to the beauty of nymphs and a devotee of the Buddha would be able to reach heaven, a place where such nymphs lived.[149] It may be noted that the conversion of Nanda and the visit of the Buddha and Nanda to heaven are represented in the sculptures of Amarāvati of the second century A.D. and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa of the third century A.D. respectively.[150] On the left of the bottom panel of the first sculpture Nanda and his wife are seen at their toilet within the palace. On the right is seen the Buddha standing at the palace while Nanda carries his bowl. The middle panel shows the Buddha preaching to Nanda, who is pining for his wife. On the right side of the panel of the second sculpture the Buddha and Nanda are seen flying to heaven, while on the left are the heavenly nymphs. Just below the Buddha's knee is the female monkey seated on a rock.

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[140] EMB, I, p. 171; MB, pp. 198 ff; BL, III, pp. 2 ff.
[141] EMB, I, p. 171; MN, I, pp. 108-109.
[142] EMB, I, p. 171; An, I pp. 276-277.
[143] JA, VI, pp. 246-247; MHVU, III, pp. 101 ff; TWB, p. 299.
[144] BIA, p. 38.
[145] TWB, p. 299.
[146] Ibid., p. 299.
[147] MN, I, pp. 91-95.

After the conversion of Nanda, Rāhula also entered the Saṅgha.[151] When the Buddha came to the palace of Suddhodana, Yasodharā, the mother of Rāhula, asked her son, "This, Rāhula, is your father, go and ask him for your inheritance" (dāyajja). The boy stood in front of the Lord and told "Pleasant is your shadow, recluse. Give me my inheritance, recluse." The Buddha in order to give Rāhula the inheritance of holy life asked his disciple Sāriputta to confer the Sāmaṇera Pabbajjā on the boy. Rāhula's request to the Buddha for his inheritance is represented in the sculpture of Amarāvati of the second century A.D. and in the painting of Ajantā of the sixth century A.D.[152] In the sculpture of Amarāvati the Buddha is shown here with a halo and Vajrapāṇi stands to his right. A group of women are seen standing in the attitude of adoration and there is a boy who is Rāhula. In the painting of Ajantā the Buddha is shown giving his begging bowl to Rāhula. Behind Rāhula there is a woman who is probably Yasodharā, his mother. Suddhodana was so much upset after the conversion of Nanda and Rāhula to Buddhism that he requested the Buddha to take permission from their parents before ordaining their sons. This was granted by the Buddha and a rule was framed to this effect.[153] Kāla Khemaka and Ghaṭāya were the two Śākyas who built monasteries in the Nigrodhārāma.[154] At the request of the Śākyas, the Buddha inaugurated their new Santhāgāra or the Mote-Hall and on this occasion the Buddha, Ānanda and Moggallāna delivered a series of discourses to them.[155]

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[148] TWB, p. 299.

[149] Ibid., p. 299.

[150] Ibid., p. 299.

1 1. VP, I, 82 f; DhA, I, 98 f.

[152] TWB, p. 300.

[153] MHV, I, v. 54.

[154] MN, III, pp. 109-110.

[155] SN, V, p. 196; BI, p. 20.

The Śākyas became so friendly with the Buddha that at his request they joined the Saṅgha. On his way back to Rājagaha, he halted for a short time at the mango grove of Anupiya where six Śākya princes namely, Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila and Devadatta joined the Saṅgha along with Upāli, a barber.[156]

After listening to the Buddha's discourses, the Śākya ladies, who enjoyed a greater amount of independence, did not stay at home. They, like the Śākya men, felt great urge for the Buddha and the Dhamma and they came out of their home and requested the Buddha to give them permission to found the Saṅgha of nuns (Bhikkhuṇi Saṅgha). Among the ladies of all the clans the Śākya ladies were the first to show their great reverence to the Buddha and to make a great demonstration before him for the formation of the 'Order of Nuns'. In order to ensure the emancipation of their souls they wanted to leave their comfortable life and to accept the rough and hard life of nuns. The leader of the Śākya ladies was Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, the foster-mother of the Buddha. On the death of Suddhodana, she decided to renounce the world; so also did many other ladies of Kapilāvatthu. They travelled from that place to Vaiśālī (Vesāli), where the Buddha was staying to obtain his permission for the formation of the Order of Nuns. The Buddha at first hesitated to give them permission to renounce their homes and to embrace the life of the nuns. He was not in a mood to allow them to form the 'Saṅgha of Nuns' because he felt that the weaker male members of the Saṅgha might have great chances of moral lapses. But although he did not favour the formation of the Saṅgha of Nuns and the admission of women into the Saṅgha, he had to change his mind and to agree to their request at the earnest importunity of Ānanda, who put forward well-versed arguments in favour of allowing Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and other Śākya ladies to enter the Saṅgha and to receive the Upasampadā ordination. But, he imposed on them eight ordinances (garudhammā) and they all had agreed to abide by these eight conditions (aṭṭha garudhammā)[157] laid down at the time by the Master for the Bhikkhuṇis (nuns). Like the monks they also observed all the sikkhāpadas.[158] They were asked not to do any such act which would give chance to the rise of desire (rāga), attachment (saññoga), acquisition (ācaya), dissatisfaction (asantuṭṭhi) etc. Although they were not allowed to live in forests, they were given permission to dwell in a hermitage (upassaya), outhouse (uddosita) and cottages specially built for them (Navakamma). They observed the Uposatha and Pavāranā ceremonies and they confessed their omissions and commissions, if any, and received admonitions (ovāda). The Pātimokkha rules prescribed for them differed partially from those of the monks. Mahāpajāpati Gotmī made a great progress in the Dhamma and attained arhatship. As soon as the Saṅgha of the Nuns was founded many Śākya ladies came forward to join it. Among them prominent were Tissā, Abhirūpa-Nandā, Mittā, Sundarī, who became arhats. Yasodharā also embraced the religion of the Buddha.

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[156] TWB, p. 300; EMB, I, p. 171.

[157] AN, IV, p. 274; CV, X: The eight rules are: (1) A nun even of hundred years' standing shall (first) salute a monk and rise up before him, if he is only just ordained.
(ii) A nun shall not spend Retreat in a place where there is no monk.
(iii) Twice a month a nun shall ask from the Order of monks the time of Uposatha (fortnightly meeting), and the time when a monk will come to give admonition.
(iv) After Retreat the final ceremony (Pvāraṇā) is to be held by the nuns both in the assembly of the monks and of the nuns.
(v) Certain offences are to be dealt with by both assemblies.
(vi) A novice who has been trained in the six rules for two years is to ask for the ordination from both assemblies.
(vii) A nun is not to rebuke or abuse a monk on any pretext.
(viii) From this day forth utterances (i.e., official statement) of nuns to monks is forbidden, of monks to nuns it is not forbidden,

[158] EMB, I, pp. 295-297,

The Buddha did not get a warm welcome from the Śākyas at the time of his arrival in Kapilāvatthu after his enlightenment but later on they realised their mistakes and became great admirers of the Buddha. They played a great part for the introduction, establishment and development of the religion of the Buddha in their country. Whithin a very short time Kapilāvatthu became a great centre of Buddhism. "Kapilāvatthu in spite of its poor response to the call of the Buddha received its due honour as the 'jātibhūmi of the Teacher' and came to be counted as one of the sacred places of pilgrimage, and a place fit for the deposit of a portion of the relics."[159] Besides Kapilāvatthu, there were several other sites in the Śākya territory,[160] namely, Cātumā, Sāmagāma, Khomadussa, Medahumpa, Naṅgara and Devadaha, where the Buddha visited to propagate his teachings. In most of the places the Śākyas gave him and his disciples a very hearty welcome and paid their homage to them.

The Buddha made a successful attempt to propagate his Dhamma in the Śākya country. He, by his noble teaching, created a deep impression on the minds of the Śākya people, who, in their return, gave him every help to fulfil his dream. They showed their great love, devotion and respect to him and under their patronage, Buddhism flourished to a great extent in their country. The Buddha had a great feeling towards the Śākyas. The Mahāvagga says that persons belonging to non-Buddhistic religious orders (aññatitthiyapubbā), who desired to enter the Saṅgha, passed through the Parivāsa (a probationary period) for four months; but he allowed the Śākyas because of their close relationship with him and also the Jaṭilas (who were believers in the effects of past deeds) to join the Saṅgha without passing through the Parivāsa.[161]

THE LICHCHHAVĪS (LICCHAVĪS)

The Lichchhavīs, the most powerful clan in North-Eastern India, occupied a prominent place in Ancient Indian history in the time of the Buddha. They formed a part of the Vajjian confederacy which is said to have included all the old Videhas, the Jñātrikas, the Vṛjis, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Kauravas and the Aikshvākas.[162] Vaiśāli (Vesālī), which has been identified with the modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of North Bihar, was not only the capital of the Lichchhavīs but was also the metropolis of the entire Vajjian confederacy.[163] During the time of the Buddha, Vaiśāli "was an opulent, prosperous town, populous, crowded with people, abundant with food; there were seven thousand seven hundred and seven storeyed buildings, and seven thousand seven hundred and seven pinnacled buildings, and seven thousand seven hundred and seven pleasure grounds (ārāmas) and seven thousand seven hundred and seven lotus-ponds."[164] According to several scholars, the Lichchhavis were of foreign origin. But there is no evidence to show that they were Tibetan or Iranian in origin.[165] The Buddhist texts refer to them as Kṣatriyas. From the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta we learn that as soon as they heard the news of the passing away of the Buddha at Kusinārā of the Mallas, they sent an envoy to the latter, claiming "the Exalted One was a Kṣatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One, will we put up a sacred cairn and in their honour will we celebrate a feast."[166] This passage clearly indicates that like the Buddha, they were the Kṣatriyas. It is difficult to say when the Lichchhavīs established their power, but in the time of the Buddha they were quite well-known for their unity, strength, noble bearing and republican constitution and made themselves well-established in North-Eastern India. They had independent outlook and never accepted a subordinate position to anybody whether in politics or in religion or in ordinary daily life. They were vigorous, manly, heroic and prosperous people and were at the same time religious people. The Buddha admired them and spoke highly of them. They had friendly relations with the Mallas and the Kosalans but they are said to have attacked Bimbisāra's capital Magadha.[167]

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[159] EMB, I, p. 173.

[160] Ibid., I, p. 174.

[161] Ibid., I, pp. 281-282; VP, I, pp. 69-71.

The Lichchhavīs were the followers of the Brāhmanic religion and worshipped many gods and goddesses of the brāhmanic pantheon. Vaiśāli was also an important centre of Jainism at the time of the Buddha's visit to this place. Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, the great Jain teacher, had exercised great influence on the minds of the Lichchhavīs. For this reason the Buddha at first found great difficulty in preaching his doctrine to the Lichchhavīs. The Majjhima Nikāya[168] and the Papañcasūdani (Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā)[169] state that Saccaka, the follower of

[162] PHAI, pp. 118-120; AIU, p. 6; SV, V, II, 519.

[163] MN, II, 101; BKS, I, p. 257.

[164] VP, MHV, VIII, 1, 2; BOD, IV, p. 379.

[165] SKTAI, pp. 26 ff.

[166] DN, II, pp. 164 ff.

[167] BRWW, p. 166.

[168] MN, I, p. 229.

[169] PMNK, I p. 454.

Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, with five hundred Lichchhavis, came to the Mahāvana[170] to make an argument with the Buddha on some knotty points of Buddhist psychology and metaphysics e.g., the nature of rūpa (form); vedanā (sensation), saññā (perception), saṃkhāra (confections) and viññāna (consciousness). The Buddha defeated him in this controversy.[171] After his defeat Saccaka invited him for a dinner and at his request the Lichchhavīs brought five hundred dishes of delicious food for the Buddha at the dinner.[172] Saccaka and the Lichchhavīs became great davotees of the Buddha. In spite of the opposition of the Jains the Buddha and his disciples came to the Lichchhavi land to convert the people to the truths of their religion. Ultimately, the mission of the Buddha was fulfilled and many Lichchhavīs embraced his religion. Sīha was the Lichchhavi military general and was a follower of Jainism. He became a lay-devotee of the Buddha, who delivered a discourse on dana (gift).[173] The conversion of Sīha had a great repercussion on the minds of the Lichchhavis. Dṭṭhaddha, a noble Lichchhavi, with his large companions, came to the Buddha's meeting where he delivered discourses and they listened attentively to them.[174] It shows that the Buddha and his disciples made a good progress in their missionary activities in the land of the Lichchhavīs and after strenuous labour they were able to win their hearts. Dṭṭhaddha Lichchhavi and his companions were happy after listening to his discourses and became his loyal devotees. The Buddha also influenced the mind of Bhaggava Paribbājaka, who expressed his greatness and satisfaction after his meeting with the former.[175]

While the Buddha was staying at Rājagaha, he received an invitation from the Lichchhavīs to pay his visit to Vaiśālī to remove the pestilence that was ravaging the city.[176] The former paid his first visit to the city to save the Lichchhavīs from the decimating disease and stayed there for a short time. He uttered the Svastyayanagāthā, the song of welfare or according to the Pali scriptures, the Ratana Sutta and freed the city from the epidemic.[177] There was no more pestilence and he restored the normal condition. He created a great impression on the minds of the Lichchhavīs and he also admired them very much. He told the monks "Bhikkhus, you have never before beheld the Trayastriṃsa gods as they go out of their city Sudarśanā to the garden. Behold now the Lichchhavīs of Vaiśālī who equal those gods in their prosperity and splendour. Look at the Lichchhavīs with their elephants, with umbrellas of gods, their gold-covered litters, their chariots decorated with gold. See how they all come, both the young and aged, as also those of middle age, all with ornaments on, with garments dyed in crimson with lac and advancing with various beautiful movements."[178] At the time of his arrival in Vaiśāli, the Lichchhavīs decorated the road from the Ganges to the city with flowers for the Buddha and his disciples and constructed the Kūṭāgārasālā[179] in the Mahāvana for his residence.[180] They also built several cetiyas (shrines) namely, Sārandada, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Gotamaka, Cāpāla and Udena for the Buddha and his Saṅgha.[181] The Buddha at the time of his visit to Vaiśālī said to Ānanda "How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is Vesāli, and how charming the Udena shrine, and the Gotamaka shrine, and the shrine of the seven mangoes (Sattambaka) and the shrine of many sons (Bahuputta) and the Sārandada shrine and the Cāpāla shrine."[182] Thus these cetiyas and the beautiful surroundings of Vaiśāli were highly appreciated by the Buddha as proper places for meditation.[183] The Lichchhavīs became great admirers of the Buddha and performed many meritorious acts and made a gift of several places of worship to the Buddha and his Saṅgha to popularise his religion in their land. The Buddha used to reside in one of the cetiyas during his stay at Vaiśāli. But his favourite cetiya was at Gosiṅgasālavana where he passed many days in meditation.[184] This was also a favourite place for his disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

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[170] In commenting upon the word 'Mahāvana', Buddhaghosa in his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī says "outside the town lying in one stretch to the Himālayas, there is a natural forest which on account of this large area covered by it, is called Mahāvana"... SV, I, p. 309.

[171] MN, I, pp.227-237.

[172] Ibid., I, pp. 227-237.

[173] MHV, VI, 31; BDD, IV, pp. 318-325.

[174] DN, I, p. 151.

[175] Ibid., II, p. 169.

[176] MHVU, I, pp. 253 ff.

[177] Ibid., I, pp.259-299.

The Buddha visited Vaiśāli many times and stayed at the Kūṭāgārasālā and several Jātakas, such as, the Sigāla,[185] the Telovāda,[186] the Bāhiya[187] and the Ekapaṇṇa[188] were delivered by him. Several eminent Lichchhavīs, who were admirers of his religion, very often visited and consulted the Buddha. Among them the prominent were Mahāli, Nandaka, Sāḷha, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, Anjana-Vaniya, Ugga-Ganapati, Paṇḍitakumāra and Piṅgiyāni Brāhmaṇa.[189] Like Lichchhavi men, Lichchhavī women, too, came under the influence of the Buddha. After leaving their parents, husbands and worldly pleasures, they joined the Saṅgha as nuns for the salvation of their souls. Sīhā, a niece of the Lichchhavi military general, with the permission of her parents, entered the Saṅgha and devoted wholeheartedly to the cause of Buddhism. She became an arhat.[190] Jentā (Jentī), who came from a princely family of Vaiśālī, attained arhatship after listening to the Dhamma preached by the Buddha.[191] She also fulfilled the conditions of seven Sambajjhaṅgas or bhojjhaṅgas.[192] Vāsiṭṭhī (Vāseṭṭhī), who was born in the family of clansmen of Vaiśālī and who was so upset at the death of her son that she came to the Buddha to receive instruction and advice from him to find peace in her mind. She acquired insight and became arhat together with a thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in spirit.[193] Ambapālī, the courtesan of Vaiśalī, had intimacy with king Bimbisāra and she bore him a son named Vimala Koṇḍañña, who entered the Buddhist Saṅgha and became an arhat. He preached a sermon which helped his mother to develop insight and attain arhatship.[194] The latter dedicated her extensive mango-grove 'Ambavana' to the Buddha and the Saṅgha. She also constructed a vihāra in the mango-grove and gave it to him.[195] The Buddha had created favourable impression even on the minds of young Lichchhavī people who were "rude and rough and whatever presents were sent to the families, sugarcane or plums, cakes, sweetmeats or preparations of sugar, these they plunder and ate up, threw dust at the ladies of respectable families and girls of good families."[196] Many young Lichchhavīs of this type, oneday, while armed with bows and arrows and surrounded by a pack of hounds, were taking round in the Mahāvana, felt a great change in their mind on seeing the Buddha there. Under the great influence of the Buddha's commanding personality they suddenly became so religious that after throwing away their bows and arrows they sat down at the feet of the Buddha with folded hands and saluted him. Mahānāma, an aged Lichchhavi, who was present at the time of this incident, was surprised to see the sudden change of the young Lichchhavīs.[197] This event gives us an idea about Buddha's achievement in his missionary work and the remarkable veneration showed by the young Lichchhavīs to him. While he was staying at Vaiśālī, the Lichchhavīs after listening to the gāthā in praise of the Master from Piṅgiyāni, his disciple, became extremely happy and offered five hundred upper garments to the latter who made a gift of all these garments to the Buddha.[198] This event

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[178] MHVU, I, pp. 295 ff.

[179] Buddhaghosa in his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī says "in the forest of Mahāvana was established a Saṁghārāma or monastery. A pāsāda or storeyed building was built on pillars and putting a pinnacle above, it was made into a Kūṭāgārasālā resembling a chariot of gods. From it, the whole saṁghārāma or monastery is known as Kūṭāgārasālā." . . . SV, I, p. 309.

[180] DN, II, p. 102.

[181] Ibid., II, p. 102.

[182] Ibid., II, p. 102 : ". . . Ramaṇīya Ānanda Vesāli, ramaṇīyaṃ Udena cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sattambakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, remaṇīyaṃ Sārandadaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Cāpālam cetiyaṃ."

[183] EMB, I, pp. 177-178.

[184] MN, I, p. 212; AN, V, pp. 133-134.

[185] JA, II, pp. 5-9.

[186] Ibid., I, pp. 262-263.

[187] Ibid., I, pp. 420-422.

[188] JA, I, pp. 504-508.

[189] DN, II, p. 169; AN, II, pp. 190 ff; AN, V, pp. 389-390.

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[190] PS, pp. 53-54.

[191] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[192] There are seven bhojjhaṅgas or requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of the Buddha. They are : attentiveness or recollection or mindfulness (sati-sambojjhaṅga), investigation of the law (dhamma-vicaya), energy (viriya), rapture or joy (pīti), tranquility or calm or repose (passadhi), concentration or contemplation (samādhi) and equanimity or indifference (upekkhā) . . . BD, p. 93.

[193] PS, pp. 79-80.

[194] PD, I, p. 207.

[195] PS, pp. 120-121.

[196] AN, III, p. 76. Watters in his book on Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) states "In the Buddha's time, the young Lichchhavis of the city were a free, wild, set very handsome and full of life and the Buddha compared them to the gods in Indra's Heaven. They dressed well, were good archers, and drove fast corriages, but they were wanton, insolent and utterly irreligious." . . . OYC, II, p. 79.

[197] AN, III, p. 76.

[198] Ibid., III, p. 239.

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sufficiently indicates the popularity of the Buddha and his Order in the capital of the Lichchhavis.

The Lichchhavis, on account of their many good qualities of character, powers of organisation and unity and concord which made them almost invincible, had impressed the Buddha, who spoke highly in praise of them. He had great feelings for this mighty and noble people and their splendid capital. The Buddha spoke many times about the virtues and seven conditions of national welfare[199] of the Lichchhavis which were necessary for the welfare of every organised community.[200] He told that "whoever my disciples, among you hath not seen the divine host of the thirty-three gods, let him gaze on the host of the Lichchhavis, let him behold the host of the Lichchhavis, let him view the host of the Lichchhavis." From his conversation with the Magadhan minister, Vassakāra, who was sent by king Ajātasattu to the Buddha to take advice from him in regard to the king's plan of defeating and exterminating the Lichchhavis, we learn that the Buddha discouraged the Magadhan minister not to make any fruitless attempt of war with the Lichchhavis. Because they honoured, esteemed, revered and supported the elders and shrines and for this reason they would prosper and might not be expected to decline.[201] They met together in concord, worked together in concord and carried out their undertaking in concord. For this reason of their unity maintained by them they would prosper and it would be difficult for anybody to defeat them. But the time would come when Ajātasattu would find defect among them and would be able to defeat them.[202]

The Lichchhavis showed remarkable veneration towards the Buddha while the latter visited Vaiśālī several times. They embraced his religion and patronised it strongly. The Buddha, in return, was greatly impressed by the good qualities of their character and spoke several times in praise of them. Thus the Buddha, during his missionary activities, made successful attempts to establish his religion and made a good progress under their patronage.

THE MALLAS

The Mallas, who played an important role in the political and religious history of ancient India, were a powerful people in Northern India in the time of the Buddha. They were divided into two confederacies, one with headquarters at Kusinārā (Kāsiā), and the other with headquarters at Pāvā (Pādaraona) at the time of Gautama Buddha.[203] Kusinārā became famous in the history of Buddhism as the site of Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. After the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha[204] the Mallas demanded a portion of the relics, saying "the Exalted

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[199] P.

[200] BSU, XI, pp. 5-11.

[201] DB, II, p. 80.

[202] SN, II, pp. 267-268.

[203] TAI, p. 257; PHAI, pp. 126-127.

[204] DN, II, p. 165.

One was a Kṣatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in his honour will we celebrate a feast." It is clear from this passage that the Mallas were Kṣatriyas by caste. From the Buddhist texts we learn that the Buddha, Ānanda and others addressed them as Vaseṭṭhas (or Vāśiṣṭhas).[205] Thus it indicates that like the Lichchhavīs, the Mallas belonged to the Vaśiṣṭha gotra. The Mallas, together with the Vajjis, were classed as republics (Saṅgha or Gaṇa) and the members were known as rājās.[206] They had their Santhāgāra (Council Hall or Mote Hall) where the members discussed political and religious matters.

The Buddha, in course of his peregrinations, visited the dominions of the Mallas with an idea of converting them to his new religion. It is said that at first the Mallas were not very friendly with the Buddha. It is clear from the mandate issued by the Malla Assembly at Kusinārā which refers to a penalty of 500 Kahāpaṇas for a citizen, who had ignored the Buddha or did not pay any respect to him during his visit to Kusinārā. In order to avoid this penalty Malla Roja, who belonged to a party in opposition to the Buddha, came to pay him respect most reluctantly. But after his meeting with the Buddha he changed his mind and offered presents and meal to the Buddha, who taught, incited, conversed and gladdened him with religious discourses. Afterwards Roja became his lay-devotee.[207] Dabba Mallaputta, another Malla, who for his great devotion to the Buddha, secured an important position among the monks in the Saṅgha. He became the regulator of lodging places and the distributor of rations by the approval of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He performed his duties so efficiently that the Saṅgha considered him as the possessor of miraculous power.[208] At Kusinārā the Buddha delivered a discourse to Tapassu, a householder, who came to him to receive instruction and advice relating to the effects of the sensual pleasures of worldly life.[209] At this the Buddha told that a person, who had never gone through the evil effect of sensual pleasures, and, who had never thought of the results of emancipation, could not do anything to attain the results of emancipation. He then explained the nine successive stages of spiritual attainment (anupubbavihārā), the crowning stage being the Saññāvedayita-nirodha.[210] After listening to his discourse Tapassu became his follower. Sīha, who was born in the family of a Malla Roja, joined the Saṅgha. He developed insight and attained arhatship.[211] The Buddha also converted another Malla, Khaṇḍasumana, who was born in the family of a chieftain. He entered the Order and acquired six-fold abhiññās.[212]

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[205] Ibid., III, p. 209.
[206] MN, I, p. 231.
[207] VP. MHV, I, pp. 247-248.
[208] VP. III, pp. 4 ff.
[209] AN, IV, pp. 438-448.
[210] AN, IV, pp. 438-448.
[211] PB, p. 80.
[212] Ibid., p. 80.

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From the Saṅgiti Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[213] we learn that the Buddha, accompanied by the five hundred disciples, paid his visit to Pāvā, another Malla capital and he stayed there at the Mango-grove of Cuṇḍa, the smith. A Council-hall (Santhāgāra) called Ubbhataka had been constructed by the Mallas of Pāvā and the Buddha was invited to consecrate it by preaching sermons. They requested the Buddha to come to this hall, saying "Let the Lord, the Exalted One, be the first to make use of it. That it has first been used by the Exalted One will be for the lasting good and happiness of the Pāvā Mallas." At their invitation the Buddha came to the new Mote Hall and delivered discourses until late into the night. This event indicates that the Mallas of Pāvā gave him a hearty reception showing remarkable veneration towards the Master. The Buddha, by his speeches, conversations, discourses, created a marked impression on the minds of his audience who mustered strong in the Hall on the occasion and thus he achieved great success in his missionary work.

The Buddha fell ill after taking his last meal at the house of Cuṇḍa at Pāvā and from there he went to Kusinārā. On the eve of his attainment of Parinibbāna, the Mallas with their wives and children, flocked to the Sāla grove in order to pay their last homage to the Blessed One. At the request of Ānanda, they stood in groups, each family in a group and he introduced them all to the Buddha, saying "Lord, a Malla of such and such a name with his children, wives, his retinue and his friends humbly bows down at your feet.[214] The Buddha gave his last instruction to his disciples "vayadhammā saṃkhārā", "all compound things are subject to decay." After his last exhortations he entered into Mahāparinibbāna. Next day, Ānanda, at the instance of Anuruddha, announced the death of the Buddha to the Mallas, who cried with grief saying "Too soon has the Light gone out of the world." The Mallas carried his earthly remains to the Makuta Bandhana shrine, to the west of Kusinārā, for cremation and they treated his remains like the remains of a king of kings (cakkavattirājā).[215] When the body was cremated, they carried the remains to their Council-Hall and set round them a trench of spears and a fence of bows and honoured them with dance, songs and offerings of garlands and perfumes. It may be pointed out that the procession of the Mallas to carry the Relics of the Buddha to their Council-Hall is represented in one of the stone sculptures on the western gate of Stūpa I of Sāñchi of the first century B.C. The sculpture shows the chief of the Mallas mounted on an elephant carrying a casket containing the relics on his head.[216] At first the Mallas refused to share the relics with the other claimants, who were king Ajātasattu of Magadha, the Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli, the Śākyas of Kapilāvatthu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, etc. But Doṇa, a brāhmaṇa, asked them not to make quarrel over the remains of the Master and he divided them into eight parts. We know that the bas-reliefs of Sāñchi of the first century B.C. depicting the advance-

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213. DN, III, pp. 207 ff.
214. DB, II, pp. 162-164; DN, II, pp. 162-164.
215. Ibid., II, p. 182; ibid., II, p. 182.
216. WB, p. 305.

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ment of the seven claimants to capture the city of Kusinārā to have a share of the Buddha's relics, the siege of the city by them and their departure with their share of the relics not only prove the historicity of the Buddhist texts but also show how the Buddha was honoured and respected by them.[217] The Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā got their respective shares of the relics and they built stūpas over them. Thus the account of the Mahāparinibbāna as depicted in the Dīgha Nikāya sufficiently indicates that the Mallas were devout followers of the Buddha, who paid their highest tribute to the earthly remains of their beloved Teacher.

THE BHAGGAS

The Bhaggas were settled in the territory that lay between Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī (Sāvatthī)[218] and Sumsumāragiri (Crocodile Hill) was the name of their capital. This small state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom[219] and Bodirājakumara dwelt in the capital as his father's viceroy. From the Dhonasākha Jātaka we learn that Bodhirājakumara, the son of king Udena of Vatsa, used to reside in Sumsumāragiri, where Kokanada, a new palace, had been constructed by him.

The Buddha and his chief disciple Maggallāna visited the Bhagga country on several occasions. Bodhirājakumara invited the Buddha to his newly built palace Kokanada so that it might be sanctified by his presence. At the request of prince Bodhi he visited the palace where he delivered a discourse. After listening to it, Bodhirājakumara became his devout follower.[220] While the Buddha was in the Bhagga country Nakulapitā, the Bhagga householder, approached the Buddha and told him "I have become old and wearied, let the Lord admonish me and instruct me for my eternal happiness."[221] Later he became a devotee of the Buddha. Nakulamātā, Sirimaṇḍa, Sigālapitā also embraced the religion of the Buddha,[222] and thus some of the distinguished inhabitants of the Bhagga country were converted to the new faith as a result of Buddha's activities in the country. After the death of the Buddha, the Bhaggas also demanded a share of the Buddha's relics over which they erected a stūpa.

THE KOLIYAS OF RĀMAGĀMA AND DEVADAHA

The Koliyas were one of the republican clans in the time of Gautama Buddha and they had two chief settlements—one at Rāmagāma and the other at Devadaha. Some scholars are of opinion that the Koliyas of Rāmagāma came fom the same ethnic group as the Koliyas of Devadaha. Cunningham identifies

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[217] Ibid., p, 306.
[218] DPPN, II, p. 345.
[219] Ibid., II, p. 345; PHAI, pp. 192-193.
[220] MN, II, p. 91; JA, III, p. 157.
[221] SN, III, pp. 1.5.
[222] Ibid., IV, p. 116; AN, II, p. 61; III, p. 295.

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Rāmagāma with Deokāli.[223] According to him, the Koliya country lay between the Kohāna river and Aumi (Anomā) river which divided the Koliyas on the one hand and the Mallas and Moriyas on the other.[224] The Kuṇāla Jātaka states that the Koliyas, because of their dwellings in the Kola tree, were known as the Koliyas or dwellers in the Kola (Jujube) trees.[225] They used to live at the foot of the Himālayas. From the Theragāthā[226] we learn that the territories of the Śākyas and the Koliyas lay side by side and the river Rohiṇī served as the boundary line between these two states. The Koliyas and the Śākyas used its water for irrigation and had kept the water by a single dam. Once in the month of Jeṭṭhamūla, a quarrel arose between them over the right of using water from a dam to irrigate their fields.[227] It is said that the Koliyas criticised and taunted the Śākyas of their custom of marriage with sisters. When it took a serious turn, the Buddha came there from Sāvatthī and settled the dispute. On seeing him the Śākyas bowed down with their heads at his feet and told him "Let the Koliyas slay us or roast us alive." The Koliyas too did the same thing and showed their great veneration towards him. The Buddha quelled the feud by his pacifying discourses and reunited them.[228] They were moved so much by his teachings that both the tribes, out of gratitude, dedicated some of the young men to the cause of Buddhism and as a result they entered the Order as monks.

The Buddha was more successful in his missionary activities among the Koliyas than among the Bhaggas because of their close relationship with the Buddha through his mother and wife.[229] For this reason he won the hearts of the Koliyas and it was easy for him to convert them to his religion. The Buddha's commanding personality and his important role to bring a peaceful settlement between the Koliyas and the Śākyas over the mutual claim of water had helped him greatly to preach his doctrine to the Koliyas. After this incident many Koliyas accepted the religion of the Buddha. Even Puṇṇa-govātika and Seniya-Kukkuravatika of Haliddavasana, who were brāhmaṇic ascetics, gave up their ascetic practices and became followers of the Buddha.[230] The Buddha and his disciples paid visits to several Koliya towns, viz., Uttara, Sajjanela, Sāpūga, Kakkarapatta etc., where they converted many Koliyans, some of whom became lay-devotees. Among them the most prominent were Suppavāsā Koliyadhitā[231] and Pāṭaliyagāmaṇī.[232] Suppavāsā, the daughter of the king of the Koliyas, remained pregnant for seven years and she suffered labour pains throughout this long

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223. AGI, p. 423.
224. PHAI, p. 192.
225. JA. V, p. 413.
226. TG, V, 529, p. 60.
227. JA, V, pp. 412-413; DhA, III, pp. 254 ff; BL, III, pp. 70ff.
228. DPPN, I, p. 690; TAI, p. 291.
229. EHSBBS, p. 165.
230. MN, I, p. 387.
231. An, I, p.26; II, p. 62.
232. SN, IV, pp. 340-358.

period.[233] She then asked her husband to go to the Buddha and tell him about her miserable condition. She also sent a gift to the Buddha through her husband. The Buddha accepted the gift and showered blessings on her. Immediately, she gave birth to a healthy son. Afterwards she and her husband became his lay-followers. After the demise of the Buddha Koliyas obtained a share of his relics and erected a stūpa over it.

THE BULIS OF ALLAKAPPA, THE MORIYAS OF PIPPHALIVANA AND THE KĀLĀMAS OF KESAPUTTA

Our information is very meagre regarding the three other clans known as the Bulis of Allakappa, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana and the Kālāmas of Kesaputta apart from the fact that each of them claimed a share of the bodily remains of the Buddha. The Dhammapada commentary[234] mentions that Allakappa was ten leagues in extent and its king had close friendship with the king of Vethadīpa,[235] the home of the famous Brāhmaṇa, named Doṇa, who was present at the time of the distribution of the Buddha's relics at Kusinārā after his Mahāparinibbāna. From this reference H.C. Raychaudhuri presumes 'that Allakappa lay not far from Veṭhadīpa.'[236] .

The Moriyas of Pipphalivana were probably the 'close neighbours of the Koliyas beyound the Anomā river and the Mallas of Anupiya on the banks of that river.'[237] The Anomā seems to have separated the Koliyas on the one hand and the Mallas and the Moriyas on the other.[238] Pipphalivana, the Moriya capital, has been "located around the Nyāgrodhavana or Banyan grove in ihe modern Rājdhani south-east of Gorakhpur city. Here one can find large number of Pippal trees and various archaeological finds."[239]

The Kālāmas of Kesaputta were the clan of the renowned philosopher Āḷāra Kālāma, who was a teacher of Gautama Buddha before the attainment of his Enlightenment. From the name of their town (nigama), Kasaputta, they may be traced to the Keśins, an ancient tribe of the Vedic age, connected with the Pañcālas and the Dalbhyas, settling on the banks of the Gomati.[240]

As regards the introduction and progress of Buddhism in the territories of the Bulis of Allakappa, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana and the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, our knowledge is very meagre. The Buddhist texts mention neither the

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233. UP, pp. 15-18; JA, No. 100; DHA, II, pp. 198 ff; DPPN, II, pp. 1163, 1222.
234. DhA, I, p. 161; DPPN, II, p. 312.
235. According to some scholars, Veṭhadīpa was Kāsiā. But some scholars identify Vethadīpa with Bettiah in the Camparan district in Bihar. . . . AGI, p. 714; JRASGB, 1906, p. 900.
236. PHAI, p. 194, f.n. 4.
237. Ibid., p. 194, f.n. 4.
238. Ibid., p. 192.
239. BSA, p. 27.
240. PHAI, p. 193.

Buddha's activities for the propagation of his religion in these lands nor the valuable services contributed by these clans to the progress of Buddhism in their regions. But it is quite true that in the time of the Buddha they existed as distinct tribes or clans. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya[241] states that the Bulis of Allakappa and the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, along with other clans, claimed and obtained their respective shares of the relics of the Buddha. After the division of the Relics by Doṇa into eight parts, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana sent in a claim, but as nothing was left, they were given a share of the ashes from the funeral pyre. Stūpas were erected over their respective shares by them celebrating a feast in its honour. The Buddhist texts refer to the Kālāmas of Kesaputta as followers of the Buddha.[242] The Buddha is said to have visited their territory and delivered discourses relating to the fundamental teachings of Buddhism.[243]

It is clear, from what has been stated above, that Buddhism received royal patronage from the very beginning. It was partly due to the zeal of the Buddha and his disciples in the propagation of the new faith and partly due to the active support and sympathy of kings, clans, ministers, wealthy citizens and ladies that even during the life-time of the Buddha the religion spread over a considerable portion of Northern India from its original home in Magadha. Buddhism in its early stage spread all over the "central belt of India from Kajangala and Champā on the east to Verañjā (near Mathurā) and Avanti on the west, and from Rājagṛiha and Vārāṇasī to Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī and Sāketa on the north, as also to the various tribes inhabiting the Himālayan foothills."[244]

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[241] DN, II, pp. 164 ff.
[242] TAI, p. 289.
[243] AN, I, pp. 188 ff.
[244] AIU, p. 370; AMB, pp. 3, 14-15.

TWO

BUDDHISM AND SUCCESSORS OF AJĀTASATTU AND THE NAṆḌAS

SUCCESSORS OF THE HARYAṄKA DYNASTY

UDĀYIBHADDA (461-445 B.C.)

The Buddhist and Jain traditions[1] represent Udāyibhadda or Uudāyin as the immediate successor of Ajātasattu. But, according to the Purāṇas,[2] the latter was succeeded by Darśaka, identified by some scholars with Nāgadāsaka (437-413 B.C.), the last ruler of Bimbisāra's line,[3] according to the Ceylonese chronicles.

The Jain texts[4] state that Udāyin or Udāyibhadda was the son of Kuṇika (Ajātasattu) and Padmāvatī.[5] They never represent him as a parricide, and state further that he was deeply grieved after receiving the news of the death of his father.[6] But according to the Buddhist tradition, he was a parricide.[7] Before he came to the throne of Magadha he had served as his father's viceroy at Campā.[8] He is said to have ruled for sixteen years (461-445 B.C.).[9] He constructed a new capital called Kusumapura on the banks of the Ganges which came to be known as Pāṭaliputra (Pātaliputta).[10]

1. KK, p. 177; PSP, p. 42; MV, IV; DV, IV, 38; V, 97; X, 8; DN, I, p. 50; SP, p. 72; SV, I, pp. 153-154.
2. PHAI, p. 216; DKA, pp. 68-69.
3. PHAI, p. 216.
4. KK, p. 177; PSP, p. 42.
5. According to Buddhist writers, Vajirā, daughter of Pasenadi, was the mother of Udāyibhadda.
6. PSP, VI, 32-180; TSS, X, 426; KK, p. 177; AVS, p. 687.
7. MV, IV, pp. 1 ff.
8. PSP, p. 42.
9. According to some, he reigned for twenty-five years. BSI, p. 2, f.n. 1. According to the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, he ruled for twenty years.
10. PSP, VI, 34 and 175-180.

Unfortunately, we know very little about his religious beliefs and practices. One of the Jain texts[11] refers to him as a devout follower of Jainism, who observed fasting on 8th and 14th tithis. He even built a beautiful Jain shrine (caityagṛiha) at the heart of his new capital, Kusumapura. The Pali texts are silent about his activities in the cause of Buddhism. But the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, which represents him as a patron of Buddhism, contains an interesting passage,[12] which throws considerable light on his services rendered by him to the cause of Buddhism. From this statement we may infer that he was so much enthusiastic for the well-being of the religion ('Sāsanārthe ca udyatah') that he had collected the 'Words of the Master' (Pravacanaṃ Sāstu), and had them recorded into writing. He displayed his veneration and adoration for the 'Gospel or Truth' by carrying it to all directions in and out side his kingdom. Whatever may be the truth underlying the statement, we cannot ignore or brush it aside as unhistorical.

MUṆḌA

According to the Purāṇas, Udāyibhadda's successors were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin.[13] Form the Jain source we learn that he had no children.[14] The Buddhist tradition[15] records the names of next three kings — Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadāsaka, who ruled after Udāyibhadda. The Divyāvadāna[16] refers to king Muṇḍa, as the son of Udāyibhadda but nothing is to be found there about Anuruddha. Possibly, Anuruddha ruled for a brief period and the author of the Divyāvadāna neglected this ruler for his insignificant role in the history of Buddhism. From the Aṅguttaranikāya[17] we learn that king Muṇḍa was so afflicted with grief after the death of his beloved queen Bhaddā that he did not allow to cremate her body but at last he agreed to do so after listening to a discourse from a Buddhist monk, Nārada, who dwelt at the vihāra, called Kukkuṭārāma near Pāṭaliputra. The latter preached to the king a sermon on the impermanence of worldly beings and objects. This shows that the king used to approach the Buddhist monks to seek their advice and instruction for the solution of various problems regarding religious and secular matters. The king was greatly influenced by Buddhism, as we find similar cases in the ruling houses of Magadha, Kosala, Avanti, Kosāmbi, etc. Thus we may presume that Buddhism received a favourable treatment from king Muṇḍa although there is no evidence to show his active help and support in the progress of the religion.

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11. AVS, p. 690; AIU, p. 29.
12. AMMK, p. 604; EMB, II, p. 2 : "Tasyāpi suto rājā ukārākhyah prakīrttitaḥ
Shaviṣyati tadā kṣipraṃ śāsanārthe ca udyataḥ
Tadetat pravacanaṃ Sāstu likhāpayiṣyati vistaram
Pujāmśca mahatīm kṛitvā dik samantāt nayiṣyati."
13. PHAI, p. 218.
14. PSP, VI, 236.
15. MV, IV, 2-4; SP, pp. 72-73; TAI, p. 205.
16. DVY, p. 369.
17. AN, III, pp. 57 ff; V, 342.

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NĀGADĀSAKA

After king Muṇḍa, his son Nāgadāsaka became the ruler of the Magadha kingdom.[18] It is said that he killed his father. He reigned for twenty-four years (437-413 B.C.). Nothing is known from any available source about the patronage extended by him to the cause of Buddhism. He was the last king of the Haryaṅka dynasty that commenced with king Bimbisāra.

A few more words may be said of the state of Buddhism prevailing in the days of Ajātasattu's successors. As already noted above, the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, a late Buddhist chronicle, depicts Udāyibhadda (styled Ukārākhya) in glowing terms as a great patron of Buddhism who showed his ardent zeal for rendering service to the new religion. If the Buddhist tradition preserved in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa is to be believed, Udāyibhadda not only interested himself in the Buddhist scriptures, but also made efforts to carry the message of the Teacher far and wide. But strangely enough, the Pali texts have to say nothing about the activities of Ajātasattu's successors in the sphere of Buddhism, except an isolated incident occurring in the life of king Muṇḍa, the grandson of Ajātasattu. In the Aṅguttara Nikāya, as noted above, it is stated that king Muṇḍa being overwhelmed with grief at the death of his queen, visited the Elder Nārada, who brought solace to the afflicted heart by delivering a sermon befitting the occasion. But this canonical work is silent about the fact whether bhikkhu Nārada succeeded in winning over the king to his side as a lay-disciple or a supporter of the faith. Moreover in the Ceylonese chronicles all the successors of Bimbisāra are branded as patricidal (pitughātakavaṃso) kings. But in spite of the discrepancies that are found in the earlier and later Buddhist texts and the obvious exaggeration of the author of the Buddhist Sanskrit chronicle, it may be inferred with a fair degree of certainty that there must have been a substratum of truth behind the tradition preserved in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa. Nothing could deter the progress of Buddhism and the religion flourished in the Magadhan kingdom under the patronage of the royal house.

THE ŚIŚUNĀGA DYNASTY OR THE ŚAIŚUNĀGA DYNASTY

ŚIŚUNĀGA (413-395 B.C.)

The Mahāvaṃsa, the great Ceylonese chronicle, describes that the kings from Ajātasattu to Nāgadāsaka of the Haryaṅka dynasty were all parricides.[19] It was

[18] PHAI, p. 219; AIU, p. 29.

[19] MVSA, IV, ff. 1 ff, p. 14 :

"A jātasattuputto taṃ ghātetvā dāyibhayiko
Rajjaṃ solasabassāni kāresi mitta dubibhako.
Udayabhayiputto taṃ ghātetvā Anuruddhako
Anuruddhassa putto taṃ ghātetvā Muṇḍanāmako.
Mittahūno dummatino te pi rajjamakārayuṃ
Tesaṃ ubhinnaṃ rajjesu attavassāna tikkasu.

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for this reason the indignant citizens of the kingdom were so disgusted at the inhuman behaviour of their kings that they drove out the last patricide Nāgadāsaka and anointed a worthy minister (amātya) whose name was Susunāga (Śiśunāga) as their king for the welfare of the kingdom. According to the Vaṃsaṭṭhappakāsinī, Śiśunāga was the son of a Lichchhavī rājā of Vaiśālī (Vesāli) by a courtezan (Nagaraśobhinī).[20] A minister of the state adopted him and that is why he was called as a minister's son. He is said to have acted as the Magadhan viceroy at Benaras.[21] The Mālālaṁkāravatthu[22] states that his royal residence was at Vesāli which he made his capital. "That monarch (Śiśunaga), not unmindful of his mother's origin, re-established the city of Vesāli and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Rājagaha (Rājagriha-Girivraja) lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered".[23] He defeated the king of Pajjota (Pradyota) dynasty of Avanti and annexed it to his kingdom.[24] It is also possible that he may have annexed the kingdoms of Kosala and Vatsa to the growing Magadhan kingdom. He reigned for eighteen years and made Magadha the most powerful kingdom in North-Eastern India. But the king's war with the kingdom of Avanti, Kosala and Vatsa and his absorption in the political affairs of his kingdom did not give him any respite to do anything for the progress of Buddhism. That is why nothing is known about his services for the cause of the Buddhist faith.

KĀLĀŚOKA (395-367 B.C.)

According to the Ceylonese chronicles,[25] Kālāśoka, the son and successor of Śiśunāga, came to the throne of the Magadhan kingdom after his father. But the Purāṇas[26] refer to him as Kākavarṇa or Kākavarṇin. Prominent scholars like W. Geiger, H. Jacobi and D.R. Bhandarkar state that Kālāśoka, the 'Black Aśoka' and Kākavarṇa, 'the crow-coloured' . . . the two are identical.[27] The Aśokāvadāna[28] omits the name of Kālāśoka but refers to the reign of Kākavarṇa

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Muṇḍassa putto pitaraṃ ghātetvā Nāgadāsako
Catuvīsati vassāni rajjaṃ kāresi pāpako.
Pitughātakovaṃso 'yaṃ iti kruddhā' the nāgarā
Nāgadāsakarājānaṃ apanetvā samāgatā.
Susunāgo ti paññātaṃ amaccaṃ sādhusammataṃ.
Rajje samasisiñcisu savvesaṃ hitamanasā".

[20] AEHC, p. XXXVIII; OHAI, p. 219, f.n. 5; VPS, I, p. 155.

[21] PHAI, p. 219.

[22] EMB, II, p. 22.

[23] PHAI, pp. 219-220.

[24] Ibid., p. 220.

[25] MV, pp. XLII-XLIII.

[26] DKA, pp. 68-69.

[27] MV, p. XLII; PHAI, p. 221; JRASGB, part II, 1901, pp. 839-859. 'The Identification of Kālāśoka with Kākavarṇa has not been taken into account by V.A. Smith, who completely denied the existence of Kālāśoka' . . . . MV, pp. XLII-XLIII.

[28] MV, p. XLI; DVY, p. 369.

after king Muṇḍa. The Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā mentions the name of Aśoka instead of Kālāśoka.[29] There is a raference to Śiśunāga's successor, Viśoka in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa.[30] Most scholars agreed with the chronological order of the Ceylonese tradition preserved in the Mahāvaṃsa and accepted Kālāśoka as the successor of Śiśunāga. He is said to have ruled for twenty-eight years (395-367 B.C.). He transferred his capital to Pāṭaliputra.

In the history of Buddhism the reign of Kālāśoka occupied a prominent place. For his close association with the Second Buddhist Council which was taken place in the eleventh year of his reign he will be remembered by the followers of Buddhism. According to all the traditions, one hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, the Second Buddhist Council was held at Vasāli in order to examine and to suppress the practices of ten un-Vinayic acts of a group of the Vajjian (Vṛjian) or Vesālian (Vaiśālīan) monks who announced the validity of these ten acts (dasavatthūni).[31] According to these monks, these acts, though they were against the Vinaya rules, were allowable and they advocated other monks to practise them. Some orthodox monks whose leader was Yasa[32] made a protest against their practises and they requested other monks in the country to take necessary steps against them. They made a great demonstration against the un-Vinayic acts of Vesālian monks and were able to create opinion against them. The latter appealed to king Kālāśoka and requested him to support them in their favour. The king showed keen interest in this matter and took their side. He supported their cause and tried to do something for them. But afterwards, at the request of his sister Nandā, who was a Bhikkhuṇī, he abstained from taking their side and changed his mind. He supported the orthodox monks and tried to settle the matter.[33] At the proposal of the Saṅghanāyaka Revata, who was expert in the Āgamas, the Dhamma, the Vinaya and the Māṭṛkās (Mātikās),[34] a council which was known as the Second Buddhist Council, with

29. KVPAK, p. 2; BSI, p. 5.
30. BSI, p. 5.
31. Ibid., pp. 17-18; EMB, II, pp. 35-36; BIA, p. 17 : (i) Siṅgilona kappa— the practice of carrying salt in a horn for use when needed.
    (ii) Dvaṅgula kappa — the practice of taking food after midday.
    (iii) Gāmantara kappa — the practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there the same day, committing thereby the offence of over-eating.
    (iv) Āvāsa kappa — the observance of the uposatha ceremonies in different places within the same sima.
    (v) Anumati kappa — doing an ecclesiastical act and obtaining its sanction afterwards.
    (vi) Ācinna kappa — the use of precedents as authority.
    (vii) Amathita kappa — the drinking of milk-whey after meal.
    (viii) Jalogiṃpātuṃ —the drinking of fermenting palm-juice, which is not yet tod-day.
    (ix) Adāsakaṁ nisidanaṃ— the use of a borderless sheet to sit on.
    (x) Jātarūparajataṃ— the acceptance of gold and silver.
32. EMB, II, p. 32.
33. Ibid., II, p. 33.
34. MIB, p. 104.

seven hundred monks, was held at Vesāli under the patronage of king Kālāśoka to discuss the ten rules of the Vasālian monks and to settle the disputes between these monks and Yasa thera and his party.[35] According to the Pali traditions, this council was held at the Vālikārāma or the Vālukārāma in Vesāli.[36] But Bu-ston[37] refers to the name of the monastery of Kusumapura as the place of this council. After a great deal of deliberation in the council, the monks gave a decision against the acts of the Vesālian monks who did not agree with their decision and after separating themselves from the Saṅgha of the Elders (or the orthodox or the Theras or the Stha viras), they formed a new Saṅgha which was called the Mahāsaṅghika and held a council known as the Mahāsaṅgha or the Mahāsaṅgīti.[38] The Dīpavaṃsa[39] says that "the second council was finished in eight months in the pinnacled hall in the excellent city of Vesāli. The sinful Vajjiputtaka monks, being expelled by the Elders, many people holding false doctrine, obtaining the other side, ten thousand, assembled and made a collection of Dhamma. Therefore this congregation of Dhamma is called the great congregation."[40]

The Second Buddhist Council, which was held at Vasāli, a hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, had some far reaching effect on the Buddhist Saṅgha. The account of the council throws some light on the history of Buddhism in the reign of Kālāśoka. We learn from it that dissensions arose in the Saṅgha between the monks of Vesāli who wanted relaxation in the code of discipline and the monks of Kosambi, Pāvā and Avanti during his reign. This council was attended by 700 monks. Among them the most prominent were Sabbakāmi, Sāḷha, Khujjasobhita, Vasabhagamika, Revata, Sambuta, Sanavāsi, Yasa and Sumana.[41] The first four monks belonged to Vesāli and the last four monks came from Kanauj, Pāvā, Kosambi, Mathurā and Avanti. From these facts it is clear that in the reign of Kālāśoka, Buddhism flourished not only in Vesāli and Pāṭaliputta but also in several places of Northern India, viz., Kosambi, Pāvā, Avanti and Mathurā. We also know further that after the conclusion of the session of the council schism arose in the Buddhist Saṅgha. Because from this time "the cleavage in the Saṅgha became wider and wider, ultimately giving rise to as many as eighteen or more sub-sects. The thera or Sthaviravādins were split up into eleven sects and remained as Hīnayānic throughout their existence while the Mahāsaṅghikas became divided into seven sub-sects, gradually gave up their Hīnayānic doctrines and paved the way for the appearance of Mahāyānism."[42] Thus the circumstances which led to the dissension in the Saṅgha, resulting in the rise of several Buddhist sects and the emergence of Mahāyānism in course of time, were no doubt significant in the history of Buddhism during the reign of Kālāśoka. The council was held under the auspices of Kālāśoka or Kākavarṇin, who was interested in the affairs of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He patronised Buddhism and the Saṅgha and he also espoused the cause of Buddhism in solving the problems which had disturbed the religious world during his reign. We also know that Kālāśoka's sister was Nandā, a royal princess, who became a Bhikkhuṇī and devoted her whole life to the cause of Buddhism. All these facts show the widespread of Buddhist faith in his kingdom and its influence in the life of ordinary people as well as in the life of kings and nobles.

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[35] Ibid., p. 104; EMB, II, p. 33.

[36] MV, IV, 50, 63; MBV, 96, 20; SSB, p, 13.

[37] HB, II, p. 96.

[38] EMB, II, p. 33.

[39] DV, pp. 41-42 and 162.

[40] Ibid., pp. 41-42 and 162 : "Kūtāgārasālāy' eva Vesāliyam puruttame
aṭṭhamāsehi niṭṭhāsi dutiyo samgaho ayan ti.
Nikkaḍḍhitā pāpabhikkhu therehi Vajjiputtakā
aññaṃ pakkhaṃ labhitavāna addhammavādī bahujanā.
dasa-sahassā samāgantvā akamsu dhammasamgahaṃ
tasmāyaṃ dhammasamgīti Mahāsamgīti vuccati".

[41] BSI, p. 16.

Kālāśoka died in a tragic circumstance. Bāṇa's Harsha-Charita[43] of the seventh century A.D. states that the king was killed by a dagger which was thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his capital city. According to the Mahābodhivaṃsa, the successors of Kālāśoka were his ten sons, who are said to have ruled simultaneously for twenty-two years (367-345 B.C.). They were Bhadrasena, Koraṇḍavarna, Maṅgura,Sarvañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Pañcamaka.[44] The Purāṇas allude only to the name of Nandivardhana, as the successor of Kālāśoka.[45] The Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa[46] mentions that Viśoka (or Kālāśoka) was succeeded by his son who was known as Śūrasena. He ruled for about seventeen years. It is very probable that Śūrasena was another name of Bhadrasena, who is mentioned in the Mahābodhivaṃsa, as the first son of Kālāśoka.

ŚŪRASENA

Surasena was a great benefactor of Buddhism. During his reign Buddhism prospered. It is said that Śūrasena extended his help to the monks of the four quarters for about three years and made a gift of a hundred kinds of requisites to all caityas, which existed in this world.[47] This shows that Buddhism received patronage from the king. He rendered all helpful services to the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom. According to Tāranātha,[48] Yasa and Śāṇavāsika, the two prominent monks, who attained Arhatship, were contemporaries of Śūrasena.

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[42] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

[43] HC, p. 199.

[44] PHAI, p. 222.

[45] CI, p. 83.

[46] AMMK, p. 611.

[47] AMMK, p. 611 : Tenāpi kāritā śāstuh kārā sumahatī tadā, stūpairalaṁkṛitā sarvā samudrāntā vasundharā.

[48] STGB, pp. 50-51.

THE NANDA DYNASTY

Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, says that Nanda, a son of Śūrasena, ascended the throne after his father.[49] He founded the Nanda dynasty. The Śiśunāga dynasty came to an end after the death of Śūrasena. The Purāṇas[50] state that the first Nanda king was Mahāpadma (364 B.C.) or Mahāpadmapati, "sovereign of an infinite host" or "of immense wealth". According to them, he was the son of the last Kshatrabandhu (so-called Kshatriya) king of the preceding line by a Śūdrā mother (Śūdrā-garbba odhhava). According to the Jain Pariśishṭaparvan,[51] the founder of the Nanda dynasty was the son of a courtesan by a barber named Divākīrti. The Avasyaka sūtra mentions him as Nāpitadāsa 'slave of barber'.[52] The Purāṇas[53] state that he was the son of king Mahānandin by a Śūdra woman. From the Buddhist texts we learn that the Nandas were Aññātakula 'of unknown lineage'. The Mahābodhivaṃsa[54] describes the founder of the Nanda dynasty as Uggasena or Ugrasena. The Vaṃsaṭṭhappakāsinī[55] says that Uggasena, the eldest of the nine brothers and founder of the royal house of the Nandas, belonged to some unknown family "tesam hi jeṭṭho pana aññātakulassa putto". But certain later writers, such as Viśākhadatta, Iravi Chākyar and Ḍhuṇḍhirāja believe that the ten Nandas, viz., king Sarvārthasiddhi Nanda and his nine sons (Nava Nandāḥ) were true-born Kshatriyas.[56] It is difficult to say anything about the number of the Nandas mentioned by these scholars and their comment relating to the Nandas as Kshatriyas. The first Nanda king destroyed all the Kshatriyas. He after overthrowing all the dynasties, viz., the Ikshvākus, Pañchālas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas and the Vīthihotras, became the sole monarch of the world.[57] The Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela of the second or first century B.C. refers to Nandarāja in connection with Kaliṅga : "Paṁchame cha dānī vase Naṁdarāja-ti-vasa-sata-oghāṭitaṃ Tanasuliya-vāṭā panāḍi (ṃ) nagaram pavesa (yati) . . . ."[58] "And then, in the fifth year, (Khāravela) caused the canal, opened out by king Nanda three hundred years back, to be brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road". The inscription also says further that "Nadaraja-jītam Kalinga-jana-sam(n) (i) (ve) sam" or another reading "Naṁda-rājanītaṁ Kaliṅga Jina Saṁnivesam" i.e., "King Nanda acquired a station or encampment or a Jain shrine in Kaliṅga."[59] According to some scholars, Nandarāja's conquest of a place or removal of a sacred shrine from

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49. STGB, p. 52; EMB, II, p. 23.
50. VNP, IX, 184 n.
51. PSP, p. 46, Text VI, 231-232.
52. AIU, II, p. 32.
53. Ibid., II, p. 31.
54. PHAI, p. 231.
55. VPS, p. 117, 13-14; BCLV, part I, p. 604, f.n. 27.
56. BCLV, part I, p. 604, f.n. 27.
57. PHAI, pp. 233-234; ANM, p. 17; AIU, II, p. 32.
58. JBORS, 1917, p. 459.
59. IHQ, XIV, pp. 258 ff; EI, XX, pp. 71-81.

Kaliṅga shows that Nandarāja or king Nanda was not a foreigner but a local chief. But it is generally accepted that this Nandarāja was Mahāpadma Nanda, the founder of the Nanda dynasty, who is supposed to have brought all under his sway and uprooted the old reigning families of the Kshatriyas.[60] The Jain source[61] speaks of a very wide area under the control of king Nanda. A large part of the Deccan also came under his rule. It is clear from all these sources that the founder of the Nanda dynasty became the most powerful ruler of North-Eastern India, who made a great influence in the political history of the country in the fourth century B.C. The Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa[62] describes him as a powerful king who had a large army and whose capital was Puṣpapura. From a stanza of the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, K.P. Jayaswal, the eminent scholar, made a comment that although he belonged to a very low family he was the leading person in his community, and before he came to the throne he acted as a minister of the previous ruler.[63] Because of the possession of enormous wealth he was selected as the king of his country. The Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa[64] says that he possessed wealth by his magical power. From the records of several writers[65] relating to the history of the Nanda dynasty we know that king Nanda was regarded as a very wealthy person.

King Mahāpadma Nanda or simply Nanda was a worshipper of the Buddha. He patronised the Buddhist monks. It is said that he offered services to the monks of Kāśi and supported them for many years.[66] He, at the request of Kalyāṇamitra, his religious teacher, made presents to the caityas which were constructed on the sacred relics of the Buddha.[67] In his reign Mahādeva's chief disciple and successor, Nāga popularised the doctrine of the five propositions of his teacher[68] and because of it, several sects appeared in the Sagṅha.[69] He is said to have reigned for twenty years. He spent his whole life as a true follower of Buddhism and did everything to the cause of Buddhism. He died at the age of sixty-six. At his death Buddhism had lost a great supporter.[70]

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[60] PHAI, pp. 376-377.

[61] PSP, VII, 81 : "Samudravasaneśebhya āsmudramapiśriyaḥ
upāya hastair ākṛishya tataḥ so'kṛita Nandasāt".

[62] AMMK, pp. 611-612.

[63] IHI, p. 14 : "Nicamukhyasamakhyāto tato loke bhaviṣyati
Taddhanaṁ prāpya mantrīsau loke pārthivatāṁ gataḥ".

[64] AMMK, pp. 611-612.

[65] MR, pp. 611-612 Act III, v. 27; ARI, Act I; KSS, I, p. 21; Mv, p. XXXIX.

[66] STGB, p. 53; EMB, II, p. 24.

[67] AMMK, pp. 611-612; EMB, II, p. 24.

[68] BSI, p. 24; The five propositions are : The Arhats
(1) are subject to temptation (Atthi arahato rago ti),
(2) may have residue of ignorance (Atthi arahato annanam ti),
(3) may have doubts regarding certain matters (Atthi arahato kankha ti),
(4) gain knowledge through other's help (Atthi arahato paravitarana ti),
and (5) the path is attained by an exclamation (as "aho").

[69] STGB, y. 53.

[70] AMMK, p. 612; EMB, II, p. 24.

Tāranātha and Bu-ston,[71] the famous Tibetan historians, state that Nanda was the first king of the dynasty and after his death, Mahāpadma, his son and successor, ascended the throne. According to them, Mahāpadma Nanda was the name of two persons—Nanda was the father and Mahāpadma was his son. But from the chronology of the kings of the Nanda dynasty we know that Mahāpadma or Mahāpadma Nanda was the first king of the dynasty.[72] It is very likely that king Nanda received the title of Mahāpadma several years after his accession to the throne. The Tibetan historians add that Mahāpadma Nanda was a devout follower of Buddhism and looked after the welfare of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He extended beneficence to the monks of Kusumapurs with all their necessaries of life.[73] These historians also inform us that the famous grammarians Pāṇini and Vararuchi, who, during reign of Nanda, held the posts of ministers, also continued to grace the same posts in the reign on his son Mahāpadma. Pāṇini,[74] who was born in a brahmin family at Bhīrukavana in the north-west, felt interested in Buddhism and became famous in grammar through the blessing of Avalokiteśvara. Vararuci,[75] which was another name of Kātyāyana of the Aindra school of grammarians, was a prominent scholar and wrote exegetical literature on the Buddha's enigmatic expressions. But king Mahāpadma Nanda, who was not favourably disposed towards Vararuci, killed him. In order to make himself free from this heinous act of killing a brāhmaṇa the king constructed twenty-four monasteries in his kingdom.[76] Tāranātha observes that Nāga's disciple, Sthiramati[77] propounded the five propositions of his teacher in his reign. For this reason, his reign saw the further divisions in the Buddhist Saṅgha in his kingdom.

It seems that the Tibetan historians mistook the mame Mahāpadma Nanda as names of two personages, Nanda and Mahāpadma, and made them as father and son,[78] and recorded some interesting data regarding the history of the religion during this period. From their traditional accounts we get a picture of Buddhism towards the close of the fourth century B.C. We know from them that Buddhism was protected and patronised by the ruler. His enthusiasm for rendering service to it was noteworthy. It was due to his vital interest for its propagation, it found a secured place in his reign.

After Mahāpadma-Ugrasena's death his eight sons, who were known in the Mahābodhivaṃsa[79] as Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāshṭrapāla, Govishāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and Dhana, ascended the throne in succession. The Purāṇas and the Jain texts[80] mention that nine Nandas ruled the country. According to

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71. STGB, p. 55.
72. PHAI, p. 233.
73. STGB, p. 55.
74. BSI, p. 8.
75. Ibid., p. 8.
76. Ibid., p. 7.
77. Ibid., p. 7.
78. EMB, II, p. 25.
79. PHAI, p. 236; AIU, II, p. 31.
80. AIU, p. 31.

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the former the first Nanda was the father and the other eight were his sons. They mention only the name of the father and one of his sons, Sahalya or Sahalin or Sukalpa or Sumālya.[81] The last king Dhana Nanda has been identified by scholars with Agrammes or Xandrames of the classical writers. The name Agrammes is probably a distorted form of the Sanskrit Augrasainya, "son of Ugrasena", the first king of the Nanda dynasty of the Mahābodhivaṃsa.[82] In spite of the occupation of a large empire and of his military strength behind him, he was not very popular in his kingdom. Once Chandragupta Maurya remarked about him that "he could easily conquer the Nanda empire, because its king was so much hated and despised by his subjects for his wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin."[83]

King Dhana Nanda on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika (Kattiya-puṇṇimāe) used to distribute large charities among the Brāhmaṇas. Chāṇakya, who was born in a village called Chaṇaya in the Golla district, was a Brāhmaṇa by birth but a Jain by faith. It is said that he became proficient in the fourteen branches of knowledge,[84] and married a girl who belonged to a respectable Brāhmaṇa family. He came to Pāṭaliputra, the capital, in the morning of the full-moon day of Kārttika to receive gifts from the king. But being insulted by an attendant of the palace he flew into a rage and uttered the vow in the presence of the whole assembly : "Like the high wind laying low by its invincible velocity the tallest tree, I will uproot Nanda with all his riches and retinue and throw him down with the overspreading branches of his family in all its progeny and kinsmen."[85] Chāṇakya after uttering these words left the city of Pāṭaliputra. He recalled the prophecy made about him by the Jain saints that he would rule by proxy and in guise of a parivrājaka he moved from place to place in search of a person who would fit for kingship and came to the village of the Peacock-rearers (Mora-posagā) serving under king Dhana Nanda. The daughter of their headman at that time was pregnant. Chāṇakya told her father that he would help her to appease her pregnancy-longing of drinking the moon on condition that she would give her male child to him after the birth of this baby. A son was born to her and the child received the name of Chandragupta (Candragupta) 'Moon-covered'.[86]

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[81] Ibid., p. 31.

[82] PHAI, pp. 233 and 236.

[83] AIU, p. 34.

[84] BCLV, Part I, p. 591, f.n. 4 : The fourteen vijjāthānas (branches of knowledge), according to the jains, are : (i) six aṁgas (subjects), viz., sikkhā (phonetics), (ii) Vāgaraṇa (grammar), (iii) Nirutta (Vedi etymology), (iv) Chhaṁda (prosody), (v) Jaisa (astronomy), and (vi) kappa (ritualism); (2) four veyas (vedas), (3) Miṁaṁsā (system of philosophy), (4) Nāyavitthara (logic), (5) Purāṇa (mythology), and (6) Dhammasattha (legal treatise)—KA, I, chap. III.

[85] BCLV, Part I, p. 593, f.n. 11 :

"Kośena bhrityaiścha nibaddhamūlaṁ.
putraiścha mitraiścha vivriddhaśākham.
utpātya Nandaṃ parivartayāmi.
Mahādrumaṃ vāyurivo' gravegaḥ".

[86] BCLV, Part I, pp. 598-599.

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After a long interval Chāṇakya returned to the village of the Peacock-rearers where by an accident he met Chandragupta. He was highly impressed by his talk and behaviour and took the boy with him from that place. By his knowledge of metallurgy he became a rich person and devised plans to overthrow king Dhana Nanda. He spent lavishly for this purpose. He made an alliance with the king of Himavatkūṭa and promised him that the kingdom of the dispossessed Nanda would be equally divided between him and Chandragupta.[87] Under the leadership of Chāṇakya they with their large army captured the capital of the Nanda king, who surrendered near the gate called Dharmadvāra. But the king of Himavatkūṭa on seeing a beautiful girl in the palace of the ex-king Nanda, wanted to marry her after the division of the kingdom, and the vast riches of king Nanda. But she was a poison girl and when he touched her hand he was affected by the poison and he died. Chāṇakya became happy after his death and placed Chandragupta on the throne and gave the kingdoms of both Nanda and the king of Himavatkūṭa.[88]

The Nandas are supposed to have patronised Jainism owing to the appointment of Jain ministers in their administration. Kalpaka, the minister of the first Nanda, urged the king to conquer and exterminate all the Kshatriyas states of his time.[89] From the Jain texts we learn that in the reign of the ninth Nanda, Sthūlabhadra, the son of his minister Śakaṭāla, embraced the life of the Jain monk.[90] Thus there is indication of the prevalence of Jainism under the rule of the Nandas. The founder of the Nanda dynasty patronised Buddhism. It was due to his activity it prospered in his kingdom. But no evidence is available relating to the history of Buddhism in the reigns of the eight Nandas who are said to have ruled the Magadha kingdom for nearly twelve years. But the Jain tradition records their leanings towards Jainism.

GENEALOGY[91]

UP TO THE END OF THE NANDA DYNASTY

A. *HARYAṆKA DYNASTY* (According to the Mahāvaṃsa)

Bimbisāra
Ajātasatru
Udāyabhadra
Anuruddha
Muṇḍa
Nāgadāsaka

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[87] BCLV, part I, p. 601.
[88] Ibid., part I, p. 605: PPV, VIII, 339.
[89] AIU, pp. 34-35.
[90] Ibid., p. 35.
[91] AIU, pp. 705-706.

B. *ŚIŚUNĀGA DYNASTY*

Susunāga
Kālāśoka
Ten sons of Kālāśoka

C. *NANDA DYNASTY*

Nine Nandas

ACCORDING TO THE PURĀṆAS

A. *ŚIŚUNĀGA DYNASTY*

Śiśunāga
Kākavarṇa
Kshemadharman
Kshatranjas
Bimbisāra
Ajātasatru
Darśaka
Udāyin
Nandivardhana
Mahanandin

B. *NANDA DYNASTY*

Mahāpadma
Eight Sons

THREE

BUDDHISM IN THE MAURYA EMPIRE

CHANDRAGUPTA (c. 324-300 B.C.)

The rise of Chandragupta in the fourth century B.C. is an important landmark in the political history of ancient India. "The career of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, sheds lusture on the history of ancient India, for to him belongs the credit of freeing this country from the Macedonian yoke and securing for the first time, the political unification of the greater part of India under one sceptre. It was a remarkable achievement, specially when we remember that Chandragupta did not inherit a throne, but was born in humble circumstances. Chandragupta's rise to greatness is indeed a romance of history."[1] We do not know much about his ancestry. The earliest Indian tradition preserved in the Purāṇas is silent on this point. The Jain tradition refers to him as the son of a daughter of the headman of a village community who were known as peacock-tamers (Mayura-poshaka).[2] The Brāhmanical tradition associates him with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha.[3] The Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara says that he was a son of the Nandas.[4] The Mahāvaṃsa represents him as a member of the Khattiya (or Kshatriya) clan named Moriya (or Maurya) of the Himālayan region.[5] In the Divyāvadāna there is a reference to Chandragupta's son Bindusāra as Kshatriya Mūrdhābhishikta or an anointed Kshatriya.[6] The same work says that Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, refers to himself as Kshatriya.[7] In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta[8] the Moriyas who belonged to the Kshatriya caste have been described as the ruling clan of Pipphalivana which probably lay between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarāi and Kāśia in the Gorakhpur district in U.P. From all these accounts we may draw a conclusion that Chandragupta's Moriya clan was a Kshatriya community. In the sixth century B.C. the Moriyas were the

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1. AIU, p. 54.
2. PSP, VIII, 229 f.
3. MR, Act IV; VNP, IV, 24.
4. HFRAI, p. 45.
5. MV, pp. 27-30.
6. DVY, p. 370.
7. Ibid., p. 409.
8. SBE, XI, pp. 134-135,

ruling clan of the little republic of Pipphalivana. In the reign of Agrammes, the last king of the Nanda dynasty, there was general disaffection amongst his subjects and the Moriyas became very prominent probably under the leadership of Chandragupta. The latter, with the help of Kautilya, also called Chāṇakya or Vishṇugupta, son of a Brāhmin of Taxilā, is said to have overthrown the infamous Nanda.[9]

Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, ruled over a Vast empire. The overthrow of the Nanda dynasty and the liberation of the Punjab from the Macedonian rule were not his only achievements. He brought the Punjab, Sind, Beluchistan, Afghanistan, Himavatkūta, Nepal and Kashmir under his rule.[10] It is generally believed that his empire extended up to Mysore in the south and beyond the natural boundaries of India up to the borders of Persia in the north-west.[11]

According to the Jain tradition,[12] Chandragupta was a follower of Jainism. Rājāvalikathe[13] tells us "Bhadrabāhu who came to the last of the Śrutakevalins, was a Brāhmin's son, and was born at Kotikapura in Puṇḍravardhana. He interpreted sixteen dreams of Chandragupta, the king of Pāṭaliputra; the last of which indicated twelve years of dearth and famine. On the commencement of the famine, Chandragupta abdicated in favour of his son Siṁhasena, and, taking initiation in the Jain faith, joined himself to Bhadrabāhu. Bhadrabāhu, having collected a body of twelve thousand disciples, migrated to the south, and came to a hill in the Karnātaka country. There he perceived that the end was approaching; and so, giving upadeśa to Viśākhāchārya, he committed all the disciples to his care, and sent them on to the Chola and Pāṇḍya countries. He himself remained on the hill, and died in a cave there, tended only by Chandragupta, who performed the funeral rites, and abode there, worshipping the foot-prints of the deceased saint. After a time, Siṁhasena's son Bhāskara, came to the place, and did obeissance to Chandragupta, and built the city of Beḷgoḷa near the hill. And eventually, Chandragupta himself died there." It is said that when Chandragupta was ruling, the great Digambara-Śvetāmbara schism occurred in the Jain Saṅgha,[14] and Śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu, the high priest of Jainism, foretold about a great twelve years' famine in his kingdom. Owing to this prophecy, many jaina migrated to South India. Bhadrabāhu also went there with them. He and several other Jains died at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Mysore after taking the holy vow of Sallekhana or the total rejection of food unto death. Chandragupta under the influence of his teacher Bhadrabāhu renounced the throne and came to Mysore and stayed there

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9. PHAI, pp. 268-269.
10. JBORS, II, 1916, p. 81.
11. AIU, p. 61.
12. JNI, p. 135; IA, XXI, pp. 156-160; EC, II, 1923, p. 37; MCI, 1909, p. 4; IA, XXI, 1892, p. 157.
13. IA, XXI, 1892, p. 157.
14. PSP, p. LXXIX, VIII, 415 ff.

for twelve years. He worshipped the footprints of his preceptor Bhadrabāhu and took the holy vow of Sallekhana and he died.[15] The Bṛihatkathā-kośa, a Sanskrit work, written by Harisena in A.D. 931, agrees with the above facts and states that Chandragupta was the disciple of Bhadrabāhu.[16] The Bhadrabāhu-Charita of Ratnanandi of about 1450 A.D., the Kannada work, Munivaṃśābhyudaya of 1680 A.D. and another Kannada work, Rājavalīkathe also agree with the Jain tradition.[17] An inscription of about 600 A.D. refers to "the pair (yugma), Bhadrabāhu along with Chandragupta Muni".[18] Two inscriptions belonging to 900 A.D. on the Kāverī near Seringapataṃ refer to the summit of a hill called Chandragiri as marked by the foot-prints of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta Munipati.[19] It is generally believed that this small hill at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa which is known as Chandragiri was the place where Chandragupta used to reside and to perform his religious rites. On the same hill there is a cave known as the cave of Bhadrabāhu and by its side an ancient temple known as Chandragupta-Basti is found. This was constructed by Chandragupta on the top of the hill.[20] A Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription of 1129 A.D. refers to Bhadrabāhu as 'Śrutakevalī' and Chandragupta,[21] who was revered even by the forest deities by the virtue of his merit. Another inscription of the year A.D. 1432 refers to Yatindra Bhadrabāhu and his disciple Chandragupta, who acquired fame for his penance.[22]

Several scholars refer to Chandragupta as a Jain. K.P. Jayaswal says "The Jain books (fifth century A.C.) and later Jain inscriptions claim Chandragupta as a Jain imperial ascetic. My studies have compelled me to respect the historical data of the Jain writings, and I see no reason why we should not accept the Jain claims that Chandragupta at the end of his regin accepted Jainism and abdicated and died as a Jain ascetic".[23] V.A. Smith remarks: "I am disposed to believe that Chandragupta really abdicated and became a Jain ascetic."[24] Even Edward Thomas is of the same opinion. He thus observes: "That Chandragupta was a member of the Jain community is taken by their writers as a matter of course, and treated as a known fact, which needed neither argument nor demonstration".[25] Both J.F. Fleet and B. Rice Lewis also hold their opinion in favour of the Jain tradition.[26] Rhys Davids says: "It is certain that in the extant priestly literature, Chandragupta is completely

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15. JNI, p. 135; PSP, VIII, p. 444.
16. Ibid., p. 135.
17. CMT, pp. 64-65.
18. MCI, 1909, pp. 3-4; Ec, II, 1923, p. 39; ACHI, p. 9.
19. CMT, p. 65.
20. ACHI, p. 9.
21. CMT, p. 65.
22. Ibid., p. 65.
23. JBORS, III, 1917, p. 452; JNI, p. 136.
24. EHI, p. 154.
25. JEFA, pp. 23-24.
26. IA, XXI, 1892, pp. 156-160; MCI, 1909, pp. 3-9.

ignored for about ten centuries."[27] C.J. Shah remarks that Chandragupta's conversion to the Jain religion towards the end of his career was the cause of this silence of Brahmanical writers.[28] Even the Jain literature describes Chandragupta's conversion to Jainism,[29] which probably attained a great prominence in the former's reign. The Mudrārākshasa, a Sanskrit drama, mentions that the Jaina occupied an important place in the court of Chandragupta. This work says that a Jain ascetic was a friend of Rākshasa, who was a minister of Chandragupta.[30]

The Greek writers state that Chandragupta used to come out of the palace to offer sacrifice. Probably the Greeks indicated that he was a worshipper of the Brāhmanical religion.[31] Hemachandra, the famous Jain writer, mentions that he gave his support and patronage to heretical (i.e., non-jain) teachers (mithyādṛik-pāshaṇḍimatabhāvitam).[32] From the Buddhist legends[33] we know that his second minister was Maniyatappo, who was a Jaṭilan, or a follower of "a class of ascetics, so called on account of their matted hair."[34] According to early Pali canon,[35] these Jaṭilians or Jaṭilakas[36] were included in a list of "schools or corporate bodies of wanderers, or of Hermits." But no evidence is available regarding Chandragupta's patronage to Buddhism. From the Buddhist records we do not know anything about his contribution to the Buddhist world and the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom. But the silence of the Buddhist sources regarding his attitude towards the Buddhists and their religion does not mean that Buddhism did not prosper at all in his reign. The Theragāthā Commentary[37] says that it was because of Kauṭilya or Chāṇakya, the all-powerful Chancellor of the Maurya empire, he put into prison Subandhu, the father of the thera named Tekicchāni. It may be surmised that there was a political reason behind this incident. Possibly this person suffered for his political views of his anti-state activities.[38] This person was a Buddhist. From this incident we cannot say that he was an anti-Buddhist. No account is available regarding his activities against Buddhism. From the records discussed above we learn that Chandragupta was a devout worshipper of the Jain faith but he showed his sympathy and favour to

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27. BI, pp. 164, 270.
28. JNI, p. 138.
29. PSP, pp. 61-62.
30. JNI, p. 136.
31. ANM, p. 164.
32. PSP, p. 232, VIII, 415.
33. MV, I, p. XLII; ANM, p. 161; DPPN, I, p. 931.
34. DPPN, I, p. 931.
35. BI, p. 145.
36. From the Buddhist text, Mahāvagga, we learn that the Buddha performed a series of miracles for the edifications and conversion of the Jaṭilas or the Jaṭilians or the Jaṭilakas. After the performance of his miracles these Jaṭilas made a formal prayer before him for pabbajjā and upasampadā and they were converted according to the 'Etha Bhikkhavo' form of address.—MHV, I, V. 20; DEBS, pp. 16-17.
37. DPPN, I, pp. 846, 860; TGC, I, 440.
38. ANM, p. 165.

other religions also. The Greek writers observe that the Brahmanical religion flourished in his kingdom. The Jain source says that he patronised heretical teachers. He even appointed a Jaṭilian as a minister in his administration. All these accounts give us an impression about his liberal views relating to all religions and his great respect for other creeds. Jainism was not the only religion that flourished in his kingdom under his patronage, other religions also progressed on their usual courses. We can conclude from the above facts that Buddhism continued to flourish in his reign, although Buddhist source is silent on it.

The Greek writers refer to a class of ascetics called Sarmaṇes in the kingdom of Chandragupta. Strabo states : "As to the Sarmaṇes, the most highly honoured are called Hylobioi, 'forest-dwellers' (vānasprasthas or Vanavāsins). They live in the forests on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They also abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine."[39] Clemens describes : "They neither live in cities nor even in houses. They wear bark of trees and live on acorns. They neither marry nor beget children."[40]

It has been generally accepted that Sarmaṇes of Megasthenes are the equivalent of Sanskrit Śramaṇas, the term which mean ascetic. Although this term was used exclusively for Buddhist monks in the regin of Aśoka,[41] we are not quite sure what the Greek writers wanted to say about them in the reign of Chandragupta. Bevan says : "It has been thought that we have in the Sarmaṇes of Megasthenes the first mention of Buddhists by western writers. In the description, however, there is nothing distinctively Buddhist and the term Śramaṇa is used in Indian literature of non-Buddhist sects. If, therefore, the people to whom Megasthenes heard the term applied were Buddhists, he must have known so little about them that he could only describe them by features which were equally found in various sorts of Hindu holy men. His description applies to Brāhmin ascetics rather than to Buddhists."[42] According to Radhakumud Mookerjee, these Śramaṇas were probably Brāhmins of the third and fourth Āśramas of life and known as Parivrājakas and Saṁnyāsis.[43] E. Hultzsch refers to them as Buddhist monks.[44]

The Greek writers describe the activities of the Sarmaṇes. "They communicate with the kings who consult them by messengers regarding the cause of things, and who, through them, worship and supplicate the deity. Some of them are physicians engaged in the study of the nature of man. They, too, like Brāhmaṇs,

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39. CMT, pp. 299-308.
40. Ibid., p. 300.
41. Ibid., p. 300.
42. CMT, p. 300; CHI, I, p. 420.
43. CMT, p. 300.
44. CII, I, Introduction, p. 1.

train themselves to endurance, both by undergoing active toil, and by the endurance of pain, so that they remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude."[45] McCrindle observes : "It is indeed a remarkable circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by the Greek authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander. The only explanation is that the appearance and manners of its followers were not so peculiar so as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people."[46] Strabo states : "They (Sarmaṇes) do not live in the open air. They live on rice and meal, which they can always get for the mere asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses."[47] It is also said that they cultivate "a knowledge of Pharmacy". They are stated to be 'diviners, sorcers, and adepts in the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about begging both in village and towns."[48]

It is believed that Sarmaṇes which stand for Sanskrit Śramaṇas may mean ascetics and have been used by Aśoka in his edicts and inscriptions for Buddhist monks only. When this term was used exclusively for Buddhist monks in the reign of Aśoka, we wonder why we should not apply it to Buddhist monks in Chandragupta's reign. But from the description of the activities of these Sarmaṇese or Śramaṇas by the Greek writers, it is difficult to say that they were Buddhists. These Greek writers, who had not seen the Buddhist monks before in their life, and who knew nothing about their manners, customs and activities, were unable to distinguish them from the Brāhmin and Jain priests, who became very prominent during this period. Probably at that time their conception relating to Buddhist monks was not very clear. That is why when they wrote their accounts, they were not in a position to indicate clearly about them and were unable to distinguish them from other religious sects.

According to the Jains,[49] the celebrated Kauṭilya or Chāṇakya, the all-powerful Chancellor of the Maurya empire, was a Jain. He paid respects to Jain teachers. He, in his old age, like a true Jain saint, starved himself to death. The Jain tradition[50] says that he with Chandragupta went to 'Shookul Tirtha'[51] on the banks of the Narbadā and he died there. It is very strange that apart from the Jain tradition there is no other evidence to suggest that Chāṇakya was a follower of the Jain religion.

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[45] CMT, p. 300.

[46] Ibid., pp. 301-302.

[47] Ibid., p. 302.

[48] Ibid., p. 302.

[49] PSP, p. 62; KA, Introduction, pp. 10-11.

[50] JNI, p. 138; TOHI, p. 71, fn. 1.

[51] 'Shookul Tirtha is the exact equivalent of Beḷgoḷa', which in Kanarese means 'white pond'. In the inscription it is also called 'Dhabal Saram', which means 'white lake'. —EC, II. 1923, p. 1.

BINDUSĀRA

Chandragupta ruled for twenty-four years (c. 324-300 B.C.). He was succeeded by his son Bindusāra (c. 300-273 B.C.) who was also known as Amitraghāta "slayer of foes".[52] The Rājavalikatha describes him as Siṁhasena.[53] It is said "while Bindusāra was yet unborn, she (his mother) was eating with Chandragupta and he fed her with some food prepared for himself. The food contained poison, placed there by the orders of Chandragupta's minister Chāṇakya that the king might gradually be made immune from poison. Chaṇakya entered as she was about to swallow the food and anxious to save the unborn child, he cut off the queen's head with a sword before the food could travel down into her stomach, opened her womb, removed the child and placed it in the womb of a freshly slaughtered goat. For seven days, the child lay in the womb of a goat, each day a fresh one, until at the end of these seven days, the child was ready for birth. Because of this, Bindusāra's body was spotted in various places from the blood of goats, and from this he obtained his name".[54] From the Buddhist and the Jain works such as the Ārya-Mañjuśri-Mūlakalpa, the Pariśishtaparvan and Tāranātha's History of Buddhism,[55] we learn that Chāṇakya worked as minister under king Bindusāra. According to the Buddhist Tibetan historian Tāranātha,[56] "Chāṇakya, of his (Bindusāra's) great lords, procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns, and made the king the master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas." Although it is generally agreed that Chandragupta extended his conquest from Surāshṯra to Bengal (Gangaripadas), i.e., from the western to eastern seas.[57] Some scholars like V.A. Smith, K.P. Jayaswal suggest from the above passage of Tāranātha that Bimdusara conquered the Deccan.[58] But there is no other evidence to support the statement of the Tibetan historian. We are not quite sure whether these sixteen towns were the capitals of the sixteen Mahājanapadas and whether he conquered all of them. The Divyāvadāna[59] refers to a revolt in Texilā during his reign and he sent his son Aśoka to suppress it. It is said that he was able to maintain the vast empire which he had inherited from his father and he also established friendly relations with the foreign powers of the west.

Bindusāra was undoubtedly one of the great rulers of the Maurya dynasty, and his reign may be regarded as an important period in the history of the Maurya empire. It is pity that the historians do not say much about the great personality

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52. PHAI, p. 226.
53. IA, XXI, p. 157.
54. MUT (PTS), pp. 187 ff; DPPN, II, p. 284.
55. PHAJ, p. 296; ACHI, p. 19; HBT, p. 89; PSP, p. 62, VIII, 445-447; ANM, p. 166.
56. HBT, p. 89.
57. PHAI, p. 297.
58. ENI, p. 149, JBORS, II, 1916, pp. 79 ff.
59. DVY, p. 371.

or the service rendered to the cause of his country. He came to rule between the two great rulers, Chandragupta on the one side and Aśoka on the other and probably this was the reason why he was unable to attract the interest and attention of the historians who always paid their highest tributes to Chandragupta and Aśoka and were in a mood to glorify their heroic deeds and their contributions to the religious world. Under the shade of these two rulers the historians made him a shadowy figure and have ignored his services to the cause of religion.

No remarkable evidence is avilable regarding Bindusāra's religious activities. The Buddhist texts[60] describe that he patronised Brāhmanism and maintained sixty-thousand Brāhmaṇas of various sects. But Edward Thomas[61] remarks: "Their testimony would not carry much weight in the argument about their lands and other times, and it is moreover, a critical question as to how much they knew about Brāhmanism itself, and whether the use of the word 'Brāhmaṇa' does not merely imply, in their sense, a non-Buddhistic or any religion opposed to their own. We may conclude, for all present purposes, that Bindusāra followed the faith of his father. . .". But his argument is neither convincing nor conclusive at all. There is no evidence to show that he accepted his father's religion, i.e., Jainism. Even the Jain source is silent on it. The Mahāvaṃsa which is a reliable and trustworthy work does not mention anything about the development of Buddhism in the reign of Bindusāra and his patronage to it. Its author no doubt had a clear idea about Buddhism, Brāhmanism and Jainism. There was a constant cultural intercourse between India and Ceylon and the author of the Mahāvaṃsa was quite aware of the facts that were happening in the religious history of other parts of the world. Brāhmanism throughout its career maintained a glorious record, and played a great role in the history of the religion of the country. From the Jain tradition we know that Chandragupta in the later part of his life accepted Jainism and renounced the throne in favour of it, but even then Brāhmanism remained as the most popular religion. We presume from the above facts that Edward Thomas without giving any sufficient proof to support his argument refers so Jainism as the religion of Bindusāra which is difficult to accept. The Divyāvadāna[62] states that an Ājīva-parivrājaka occupied an important place in the court of Bindusāra and the latter was in close touch with him. It is to be noted that Aśoka and Daśaratha, the Maurya rulers, patronised the Ājīvikas too. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri remarks: "The intensity of Aśoka's devotion to matters spiritual is better understood when we remember the kind of men his father loved to gather round himself. It is said in the Seventh Pillar Edict that kings in times past also desired that "men might be made to progress by the promotion of Dhamma." Bindusāra might well claim a place among these past rulers. From him and some of the brilliant men who graced his court Aśoka may well have imbibed ideas that fructified in later times, when he came into close touch with the

60. MV, V, 34; SP, I, 44; DPPN, II, p. 284.
61. JEFA, p. 29; JNI, p. 139.
62. DVY, pp. 370; PHAI, p. 299, f.n. 4.

Buddhist Saṅgha. The reign of Bindusāra may with plausibility be regarded as prelude to that of his great son."[63] All these facts will give an idea about Bindusāra as a religious person. In absence of any evidence regarding Bindusāra's patronage to Buddhism it is difficult to draw its picture in his kingdom during his reign. But from its prominence in the reign of his son and successor, Aśoka, we can estimate that it continued to play in the religious world in his reign, though not at the height of its popularity.

The Purāṇas say that after a reign of 25 years Bindusāra died. According to the Buddhist texts, he reigned for 28 years. His rule seems to have come to an end in 273 B.C.[64]

AŚOKA (c. 273-232 B.C.)

Bindusāra was succeeded by his son Aśoka who occupied a unique place among the rulers of the world. He has been described by historians as 'the greatest of kings' and that 'not because of the physical extent of his empire, extensive as it was, but because of his character as a man, the ideals for which he stood, and the principles by which he governed.'[65]

It is said that Bindusāra had sixteen wives and one hundred one sons. The Aśokāvadāna[66] refers to Subhadrāṅgī, the daughter of a brāhmaṇa of Campā, as one of his wives. She, after giving birth to her first child, said : 'Now I am without sorrow (a-śoka).' The child got the name Aśoka from it.[67] The Vaṃsatthappakāsinī,[68] the Mahāvaṃsa commentary, refers to Subhadrāṅgī and states that her child received the name 'Aśoka' because he did not give any pain to his mother at the time of his birth. The child had rough skin and for this reason Bindusāra did not like him. There is a tradition that the child's mother tried to keep him away from his father to save his life. She had another son who is known in the Mahāvaṃsa as Vissa and the Aśokāvadāna refers to him as Vitaśoka.[69] In the Divyāvadāna he is Vigataśoka.[70] When Aśoka grew up he no doubt was able to win Bindusara's confidence. That is why instead of sending his eldests on Susīma or Sumana, the vice-regent, he sent Aśoka to Takkaśilā (or Taxilā) to suppress a revolt.[71] He was successful. He was then appointed as viceroy or governor of Avanti by his father. During the time of his governorship at Avanti, he heard that his father had approached the end of his life. He rushed forward to

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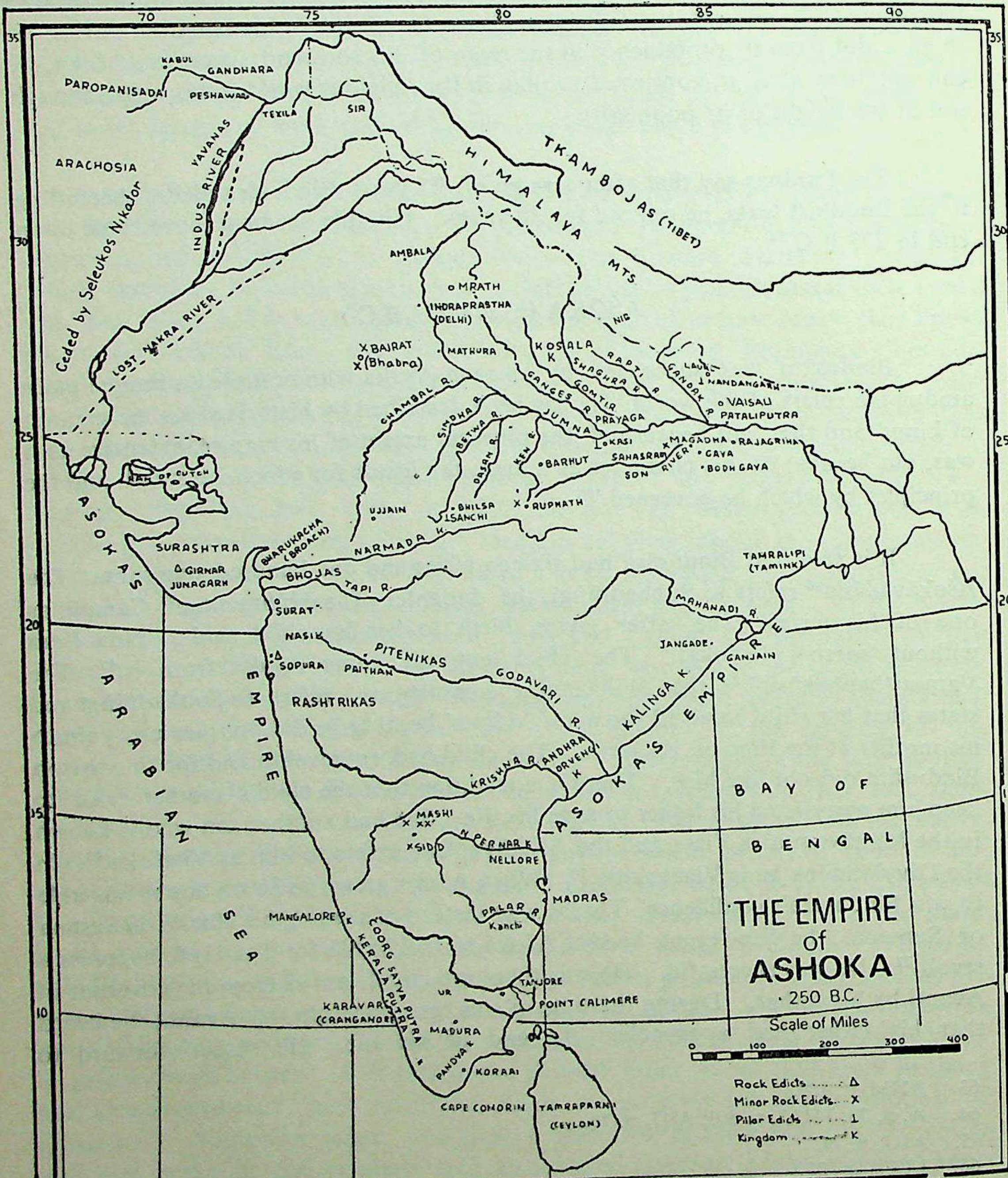
[63] ANM, p. 169.
[64] A, p. 73; PHAI, p. 301; AIU, p. 70.
[65] AIU, p. 71.
[66] LLEA, p. 320.
[67] EB, II, Fascicle, 2, 1967, p. 179.
[68] MVT, IV, 125.
[69] MV, p. 28; EB, II, Fascicle 2, p. 179; ANM, p. 208; AVD, p. XVII; A, pp. 247 ff,
[70] DVY, p. 233.
[71] Ibid., p. 234.


THE EMPIRE of ASHOKA
· 250 B.C.
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Rock Edicts .... Δ
Minor Rock Edicts... X
Pillar Edicts .... ⊥
Kingdom .... K
70
75
80
85
90
35
30
25
20
15
10
KABUL
GANDHARA
PAROPANISADAI
PESHAWAR
TEXILA
SIR
ARACHOSIA
YAVANAS
INDUS RIVER
Ceded by Seleukos Nikator
LOST HAKRA RIVER
HIMALAYA MTS
TKAMBOJAS (TIBET)
AMBALA
MRATH
INDRAPRASTHA (DELHI)
X BAJRAT
X (Bhabra)
MATHURA
KOSALA K
RAPTI
SHAGHRA R
GOMTIR
GANGES R
PRAYAGA
GANDAK R
NIG
LAUR
NANDANGARH
VAISALI
PATALIPUTRA
CHAMBAL R
SINDHA R
BETWA R
DASAN R
KEN R
JUMNA
KASI
SAHASRAM
MAGADHA
RAJAGRIHA
GAYA
BODH GAYA
SON RIVER
BARHUT
RUPNATH
UJJAIN
BHILSA
SANCHI
RAN OF CUTCH
ASOKA'S
SURASHTRA
GIRNAR
JUNAGARH
BHARUKACHA (BROACH)
NARMADA R
BHOJAS
TAPI R
TAMRALIPI (TAMINK)
MAHANADI R
SURAT
NASIK
SOPURA
PITENIKAS
PAITHAN
GODAVARI R
JANGADE
GANJAIN
KALINGA K
ASOKA'S EMPIRE
EMPIRE
RASHTRIKAS
ARABIAN SEA
KRISHNA R
ANDHRA
ORVENCI K
MASHI
SIDD
PERNAR K
NELLORE
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
MANGALORE K
PALAR R
Kanchi
COORG SATYA PUTRA
KERALA PUTRA
TANJORE
UR
POINT CALIMERE
KARAVAR (CRANGANORE)
MADURA
PANDYA K
KORAAI
CAPE COMORIN
TAMRAPARNI (CEYLON)

Pāṭaliputra, the capital of his father, and took the charge of the administration of the Maurya empire in his own hand.[72] But the Divyāvadāna[73] describes that on the death of Bindusāra when the throne of Pāṭaliputra was lying vacant Aśoka seized the throne of Pāṭaliputra. In this war of succession against his elder brother, Aśoka got the help of the entire ministry of Bindusāra, of Khallāṭaka (Prime Minister) and five hundred other ministers.[74] Even during Bindusāra's reign, the king's preceptor, Piṅgalavatsa, an Ājivika saint, declared Aśoka as the fittest of all his sons for the throne.[75] Sumana, the eldest brother of Aśoka, died in this battle. The Mahābodhivaṃsa[76] states that in the war of succession, Aśoka was on one side and his ninety-eight brothers, who supported the cause of their eldest brother Sumana, the lawful heir to the throne, were on the other side, and they were killed in this war. The Chinese traveller, I-tsing,[77] in his account, mentions that the Buddha himself even foretold of the great kingdom of Aśoka. The Buddha, while explaining king Bimbisāra's dream of a piece of cloth and a gold stick, both divided into eighteen fragments, told the king that his teaching would be divided into eighteen schools "more than a hundred years after his nirvāṇa, 'when there will arise a king named Aśoka, who will rule over the whole of Jambudvīpa."[78] The Divyāvadāna states that the Buddha prophesied about Aśoka as a righteous king who would erect 84,000 'dharmarājikas' to enshrine his bodily relics.[79] It says further that Aśoka as a king would be ruling from sea to sea "without oppression, without enforcing penalties, without the force of arms, but according to the Dhamma and customary law", and later in life "giving up his empire, he would shear off his hair and beard, don the yellow robe, go from home into homelessness, and ultimately attain to the status of a pratyeka-Buddha."[80] The Ceylon chronicles give us two different stories relating to the account of his conquest of the throne. According to the first one,[81] Aśoka had killed ninety-nine brothers born of different mothers before he ascended the throne of the Maurya empire. V.A. Smith did not agree with the Ceylon legends and he never accepted the credibility of the account that Aśoka slew his ninety-nine brothers. Because it was quite certain that Aśoka's brothers and sisters were alive in the seventeenth or eighteenth year of his reign, "whose households were

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72. ANM, p. 209.
73. DVY, pp. 234-235.
74. Ibid., p. 234.
75. Ibid., pp. 234-235; JNI, p. 65; Ar, p. 3.
76. MBV, p. 99.
77. ARBRIMA, p. 14.
78. Ibid., p. 14; AR, pp. 3-4, f.n. 5.
79. DVY, p. 368; DYVP, p. 232.
80. EB, II, Fascile, 2, p. 190. "Aśokavarṇo nāma cakravarti caturanravāntavi jetā dhārmiko dharmarājah. . .sa imāmeva samudrapar jantāni mahāpṛithivīmakhilāmakaṇatakāmanut-pirāmadañ denāśaśtreṇa dharmeṇa samayenābhinirgitya adhyāvatsyati. . .sohapareṇa samayena dānāni datvā cakrāvartirā jyamapahāya keśaśmaśruṇayavartāya kāsāyāni vastrāni. . .samyagava śraddhayā agārādanagārikāṁ pravrajya pratyekāṁ bhodhiṁ sākkhyātkariṣyati, Aśokavarṇo nāma pratyeka-buddho bhaviṣyati." —DYVP, p. 87.
81. MV, V, 20; DV, VI, 21-22.

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objects of his anxious care."[82] V.A. Smith also told further that "His grandfather, Chandragupta, 'a man of blood and iron', who had fought his way from poverty and exile to the imperial throne, naturally was beset by jealousies and hatreds, and constructed to live a life of distrustful suspicion. But Aśoka, who was born in the purple, and inherited an empire firmly established by half a century of masterful rule for two generations, presumably was free from the 'black care' which haunted his ancestor. His edicts display no sense of insecurity or weakness from first to last; and the probability is that he succeeded peaceably in accordance with his predecessor's nomination. It is, however, possible that the northern tradition which testifies to a contest for the succession between Aśoka and Susīma, his eldest brother, may be founded on fact. It has more historical appearance than the stories told by the monks of Ceylon."[83] Aśoka's Fifth Rock Edict, which has a description of the harems of Aśoka's brothers and sisters, does not corroborate the facts as narrated in the Mahāvaṃsa and the Dīpavaṃsa. It says: "Hida bahireṣu cha nagareṣu savreṣu (O) rodhaneṣu bhatana cha saps (u)na ye va pi añe ñatike savrata viyapaṭa".[84] "Here (probably, in the capital-city) and other outside towns, they (Dhama-mahāmātras) have been everywhere employed in all the harems (royal establishments) of my brothers and sisters and (also) over those others who are our relatives."[85] But the contents of the Fifth Rock Edict neither indicate that his brothers themselves were alive, nor before us that they were dead. Therefore, from its descriptions we are unable to prove or disprove the historicity of the facts as mentioned in the Ceylon chronicles.[86] It is difficult to say how much truth there is in the accounts of Aśoka's accession to the throne after the death of his father.

The second story of the Mahāvaṃsa[87] describes that after murdering his eldest brother, Aśoka became the emperor of the Maurya dynasty. But the Divyāvadāna[88] states that Bindusāra on his deathbed asked his eldest son Susīma to accept the charge of the administration of the kingdom and for this reason he told his ministers to arrange a ceremony to anoint him. But his ministers asked Aśoka to capture the throne in place of Susīma. Aśoka accepted their proposal "by successfully calling upon the gods to give him the diadem if it was by right."[89] But the Divyāvadāna[90] also says in another place that he killed his enemies to occupy the throne of the kingdom. Aśoka ascended the throne in c. 273 B.C., but his coronation (abhisheka) took place after four years, i.e., in 269 B.C. It probably signifies that his accession was not uncontested. It did not take place peacefully and probably it took four years to settle all disputes relating to the claim of the throne of Pāṭaliputra. This was the reason for the delay of his coronation. But K.P. Jayaswal[91] remarks that his coronation was delayed because he had not reached the age of twenty-five which was the age of coronation but it is difficult to accept it on the ground that in the Mahābhārata[92] there is a reference to coronation of Vichitravīrya at an early age.

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[82] EHI, p. 163.
[83] EHI, pp. 163-164; A, p. 249.
[84] ASI, pp. 24-25.
[85] ASI, p. 27.
[86] PHAI, p. 303.
[87] MV, V, 40.
[88] DVY, pp. 372-373.
[89] Ibid., pp. 372-373; ANM, p. 209, f.n. 3. "Yadi mama dharmena rājyam bhavati, Devatā mama pattaṃ bhandhantu. . . ." —DYVP, p. 234.
[90] DVY, pp. 340, 387.

In the first thirteen years of his life Aśoka like Chandragupta and Bindusāra followed an aggressive policy of expansion of the Maurya empire. His conquest of Kaliṅga which roughly corresponds to modern Orissa was an important event in the history of Magadha and of India.[93] "It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Aṅga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or Digvijaya was over, the era of spiritual conquest or Dharmavijaya was about to begin."[94] Aśoka from grandfather Chandragupta and father Bindusāra inherited an empire which was extended from Afghanistan to Mysore. He included Eastern, Western and Northern Bengal in the East. He conquered Kaliṅga and annexed it to his empire. Aśoka undoubtedly ruled over a vast empire. From his Rock and Pillar Edicts which were found in large numbers in different parts of India and the neighbouring countries, we can easily guess the wide extent of his dominions. His Rock Edicts[95] were found at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra near Peshwar; at Kālsī near Dehra Dun in U.P.; at Sopārā in the Thana district of Bombay state; at Girnar near Junāgarh in Kathiawar; at Dhauli near Bhuvanesvara in the Puri district; at Jaugada in the Ganjam district; at Chitaldroog in Mysore; at Rupnath near Jabbalpur in Madhya Pradesh; at Sahasram in Bihar; at Bairāt near Jaipur in Rājputāna; and at Māski in the Nizam's dominions, now Hyderabad. Aśoka's Pillar Edicts[96] were found at Topra near Ambala in the Punjab; at Meerut; at Kauśāmbi; at Lauria Nandangarh (Mathia), Lauriya Ararāj (Rādhia) and Rampurwa in the Champaran district; at Sāñchī near Bhopal; at Sārnāth near Benares; at Rummindei in Nepal and at Nigliva in the Nepalese Tarāi. Besides these edicts, several stūpas erected by Aśoka were found at various places. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller, saw them. From his descriptions we learn that

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91. JBORS, III, 1917, p. 438 : "It seems that in those days for obtaining royal abhiseka (there were other abhishekas also, e.g., that of yuvarāja, senāpati) the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Aśoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession."
92. MBT, I, pp. 101, 112.
93. ACHI, p. 23.
94. PHAI, pp. 306-307.
95. AIU, p. 72; AR, pp. 13-14; AK, pp. 24 ff.
96. AR, p. 14; AIU, pp. 77-78.

Aśoka's stūpas were built in Kapis (Kafiristan), Nagar (Jalalabad) and Udyāna in the North-western Frontier Province (East Afghanistan).[97] The Chinese traveller[98] also noticed his stūpas near Tamralipti (Tamluk) and Karṇasuvarṇa (modern Burdwan and Murshidabad districts) in West Bengal, in Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) and in Samatata (Bangla Desh). Thus all these edicts and stūpas found at various places indicate the vastness of Aśoka's empire. It is no doubt difficult to rule so vast an empire. But Aśoka, with the help of his ministers, very efficiently managed to rule the whole empire and by his wise judgment and good administration he was able to win the hearts of his people easily. In spite of it, he was criticized by several scholars for his real ability to rule over a country. Rev. Heras[99] remarks : "The greatest monarch of Hindustan during the Hindu period was Chandragupta. His grandson Aśoka's glory is based upon intellectual grounds. He was a philosopher rather than a sovereign; he was a teacher of morals rather than an administrator." According to C.J. Shah,[100] Aśoka was politically a Quaker, and was a worthy person for the post of a religious teacher than of an emperor. After the Kaliṅga war Aśoka gave up his aggressive policy of the expansion of his empire and he never engaged himself in war with any one. He gave more emphasis on religion and relgious activities than on anything else and worked for the moral uplift of his people. For this purpose he appointed religious ministers to preach religious teachings and to look after the welfare of his subjects. In many of his Edicts Aśoka preached the religion of Ahiṁsā or non-violence which he followed throughout his life. He was always interested to see that his subjects should be law-abiding as well as virtuous. Under his personal care and observations his subjects were always dutiful to their parents, offered gifts to the poor and deserving persons and practised non-injury and led a pious life. He was always anxious for the welfare of his subjects. This type of ideal government based on love and sympathy was set up by Aśoka. He played a great role in the religious history of the country and devoted a greater part of his time and energy to the welfare of the religion, but he never neglected his royal duties and his primary task of governing his kingdom. As a prince and even before the Kaliṅga war he showed his great ability as a soldier and a statesman. Even after this war when he was inclined more and more towards the cause of religion, he showed no mark of his inefficiency or his inability to rnle the country as an emperor. Without any war or any aggressive policy he maintained a very large empire and his relations with the foreign powers were very friendly. What he achieved without any war was remarkable. He not only showed himself as a religious person but he also proved himself how capable he was as an administrator. From a list of officials[101] such as the Mahāmātras, the Rājūkas, the Rathikas, the Prādeśikas, the Yutas, the Pulisā, the Pativedakā, the Vachabhumikā, the Lipikāras, the Dūtas, the Āyuktas, etc. employed in various

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97. OYC, II, pp. 184 ff.
98. Ibid., II, pp. 184 ff.
99. QJMS, XVII, p. 276.
100. JNI, p. 133.
101. PHAI, p. 316.

departments, we can understand his efficient administrative capacity. The emperor was helped by these bodies of officials who played prominent roles in the political as well as in the religious fields. A ruler can be judged for his statesmanship and administrative capacity by two outstanding qualities, viz., his proficiency in the science of government and his ability for timely and effective application of its principles for his own safety, the safety of his territory and subjects, the safety of other elements of sovereignty and the furtherance of general good and happiness.[102] His Edicts throw sufficient light to judge him as an advanced political thinker and as a far-sighted and capable administrator. He had a good knowledge relating to the science of government and the general philosophy of life. B.M. Barua[103] observes : "The general principles of piety, duty and good conduct advocated by him in his edicts fall all within the scope of the most advanced rājadharma or political thought of India, and had all regulations of piety (dhammaniyamāni) typified by Pillar Edict V been recorded and preserved, we might have a novel Arthaśāstra of Aśoka, which would do good to the political thought of the world." His administrative systems and reforms give us sufficient reasons to prove that he was not only a good administrator of his time but was the greatest emperor of all ages. B.M. Barua says : "The institution of the quinquennial and triennial tours of official inspection (Rock Edict III), the appointment of the Dharmamahāmātras as a new class of officials with their duties cleary defined, the elaborate arrangements made for the education of the people, the improvement of the jail administration (Rock Edict V), the humanisation of the ruthless criminal laws (Pillar Edict IV), the passing and enforcement of the various regulations of piety (Pillar Edicts V and VII), the promulgation of ordinances (Schiem Pillar), and the like were all measures devised to implement the duties of the ideal state as conceived and cherished by him."[104] We can say that it was never possible for his predecessors or successors to attain such position which he occupied in the political and religious history of ancient India. His fame was equal both in the political as well as in the religious world.

The Jaina connect Aśoka with the introduction of Jainism in the kingdom of Kashmir.[105] Abul Fazl,[106] the famous minister of Akbar, wrote in his Āin-i-Akbarī that when Aśoka came to the throne, he suppressed the Brāhmanical religion and gave his help to establish the Jain faith in Kashmir. Some scholars[107] support the statement of Abul Fazl and state that Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī also mentions it. The Jain tradition[108] tells us that in the reign of Aśoka, the

102. KA, I, 5, VI, I; ASS, p. 221.
103. ASS, p. 221.
104. Ibid., pp. 221-222.
105. JEFA, pp. 30-31.
106. AAAF, II, p. 382; ATR, XV, 1825, p. 10.
107. ATR, IX, pp. 96-97; JEFA, p. 32.
108. JNI, p. 139.

Niganṭhas (the Nirgranthas), the Jain monks, became very prominent in his reign and Aśoka established his relations with them. It is to be noted in this connection that the Vītāśokāvadāna[109] of the Aśokāvadāna mentions that Aśoka after his conversion to Buddhism became its staunch follower. It is stated in this book that a Nirgrantha in his picture painted the Buddha at the feet of the Nirgrantha (the Mahāvira).[110] On seeing it Aśoka became very angry and gave his order to kill the Ājīvikas[111] of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) and about eighteen thousand Ājīvikas were killed. The same thing happened in Pāṭaliputra. Here he announced a reward of a dīnāra (a gold coin) for the head of a Nirgrantha monk. Within a very few days it was seen that thousands of Nirgranthas were killed. Even Aśoka's brother, Vītāśoka, who was mistaken for a Nirgrantha, was murdered by a milkman.

Aśoka has been described in the Vītāśokāvadāna as a cruel one. In some other legends Aśoka in his young age was known as Caṇḍāśoka or Kālāśoka[112] for his cruelty. But many legends clustering round him which have no historical foundation should be taken simply as stories and should never be accepted as history. As no inscription corroborates these legends, they raise sufficient doubt about the value of their historicity. Aśoka was quite well-known not only for his great devotion to Buddhism but also for his equal tolerance of all religions and this is really 'unique in the history of humanity'. His edicts show that although he accepted Buddhism as his religion and sacrificed everything for its progress, he tolerated other religions also. Under the shade of his umbrella almost all the prevailing religions flourished. In Pillar Edict VII he says : "Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king (Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi)[113] : Those my Dharma-Mahāmatras, too, are employed in various kinds of business, in matters of royal favour, both of ascetics and of householders; among all sects also are they employed. In the business of the Saṁgha, too, has it been ordained by me that these shall be employed; similarly has it been ordained by me that these shall be employed among the Brāhmaṇa and Ājīvika ascetics; among Nirgranthas, too, has it been ordained by me that these shall be employed; among the various sects, too, has it been ordained by me that these shall be employed. . .".[114]

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[109] AVD, pp. XXXII-XXXVIII.

[110] Ibid., p. XXXVII.

[111] "The author of this Avadāna seems to have confused the Nirgranthas (Jains) with the Ājivikas. They were two different sects founded by Mahāvīra and (Maskariputra) Gośā(sa)la respectively, who are considered to be the last Tīrthaṅkaras of these two sects.

Mahāvīra and Gośāla practised austerities together for some time. It is said that Gośāla attained to Jinahood first and he had great influence in the development of Mahāvīra's doctrine. Afterwards, when differences arose, they parted from each other.

The Ājīvika sect existed until the 14th century A.D. Finally, they lost their identity and merged with the Digambara Jains, Śivaites and others." —AVD, p. XXXVIII, f.n. 1.

[112] Ibid., p. IV; EB, II, Fascicle 2.

[113] This is the fullest appellation or epithet found in Aśoka's inscriptions. In most of his inscriptions Aśoka describes himself Devānaṁ-priya Priyadarsi Rājā 'Beloved of the gods' and 'one of amiable look'. But sometimes it is shortened into Devānaṁ Piyaḥ or Priyadarsi Rājā or Rājā Priyadarsi or simply Priyadarsi. The Gujjara version of the Minor Rock Edict calls him Devānaṁ Pṛiyaḥ Priyadarsi Rājā' śokh, while the Maski version of the same edict calls him Devānaṁ Priya' śokaḥ. —AK, p. 5; AVD, p. 139, f n. 1; AIU, p. 73.

Aśoka's Pillar Edict VI tells us : "Savanikāyesu paṭivekhāmi savapāsaṁḍā pi me pūjitā vividhāya pūjāyā."[115] ". . .Thus do I also attend to all classes. All sects are also honoured by me with various offerings."[116] His Girnar Rock Edict XII informs us : ". . .Whosoever honours his own sect and condemns the sects of others wholly from devotion to his own sect, i.e., the thought, "How I am glorify my own sect," . . .one acting thus injures more gravely his own sect on the contrary."[117] All these records indicate that Aśoka was perfectly tolerant and paid his great reverence to men of all sects. He wished all sects to flourish in his empire and granted charities on all of them. He sincerely honoured all of them. The Dharma-Mahāmātras, i.e., Religious Censors or Inquisitors, who were employed among the Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas, always worked for the establishment and promotion of the Dharma and for the welfare and happiness of those who had offered their lives to the cause of the Dharma. His Edicts exhibit his non-sectarian policy. His grant of cave-dwellings to the Ājīvikas[118] at Barābar and Nāgārjuṇi Hills was effected to the same spirit as he displayed in the erection of stūpas for the Buddhists or offered to the Brāhmaṇas, elsewhere. It is difficult to believe that the king, who honoured all sects and who, in his many Edicts, preached the religion of Ahiṁsā or non-violence followed by him throughout his life, persecuted the Nirgranthas and the Ājīvikas. There is no record anywhere in this world to show that a Buddhist king for the establishment and progress of his own religion exterminated the Brāhmaṇas, the Jains and the Ājīvikas. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the emperor Aśoka, who always felt for the welfare of his brothers, sisters and relations, and who considered his subjects as his own children, committed this heinous act as described in his legends. G.P. Malalasekera[119] remarks : "The tender solicitude for all his relations and expressions of affection which are to be found in several of his edicts (e.g., the 4th) would make one incline to the view that the account of Aśoka's earlier cruelty earning for him the epithet of Caṇḍāśoka, was merely an artificial background against which his conversion and future saintliness as

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[114] AR, pp. 189-190. "Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi havam āhā dhammamahāmātā pi me te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajītānaṁ cheva gihithānaṁ cha sava. . . (d)esu pi cha viyāpaṭāse saṁghahaṭsi pi me kate ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti hemeva bābhanesu Ā(j)īvikesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti Nigamthesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti nānā-pāsamdesu pi me (ka)te ime viyāpatā hohaṁti ti paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭivisiṭhaṃ tesu tesu (te). . ." AR, p. 241.

[115] Ibid., p. 240.

[116] Ibid., p. 185.

[117] Ibid., p. 159. "Yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṁḍaṁ Pūjayati para-pāsaṁḍam v(a)-garahati savaṁ ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-bhatiyā kiṁti ātpa-pāsaṁḍaṁ dīpayema iti se cha puna tatha karāto ātpapāsaṁḍa(ṁ) bādhataraṁ upahanāti. . .". Ibid., p. 232.

[118] Ibid., p. 64; IA, XX, 1891, pp. 261 and 361; A, p. 144; JNI, p. 65,

[119] EB, II, Fascicle 2, p. 179,

Dhammāśoka stand out all the clearer." It can be fairly stated that the orthodox Buddhist authors in order to draw a picture of Buddhism, its noble teachings and its greatness, refer to Aśoka as "Caṇḍāśoka or Kālāśoka or Kāmāśoka" for his cruel behaviour and they further want to show us that it was because of the great influence of Buddhism that this cruel man became a holy man and might be "changed into the most compassionate and the noblest of men". Aśoka's expressions of affection and kindness for his relations and subjects and his eagerness to do something for their welfare in several of his edicts would undoubtedly prove that he was a kindhearted person. The reference to Aśoka as a Caṇḍāśoka for his earlier cruelty, the occupation of the throne by him after murdering his brothers, the killing of the Ājivikas at his instance and his other nefarious activities. . .all these fabricated stories of biased Buddhists do not find any support from his archaeological and epigrahical records. Aśoka inherited a large empire from his grandfather Chandragupta and his father Bindusāra, who, as we have already seen, were religious persons and for their religious activities they were able to secure a permanent place in the pages of the religious history. Therefore, Aśoka not only inherited a large empire but also the nobler qualities and the religious propensity from them. Their services to the religion had left an indelible mark upon his life. He emulated with them, who had been famous for their virtuousness, and devoted himself 'to the extension of Dharma and conversion of people to a moral life by love.' For the moral uplift of his people he preached the fundamental principles and practices of Dharma or moral life. He stood for the ideal of Ahiṁsā or non-violence. Even the effect of the Kaliṅga war, which completely changed his way of life, proved that he was not Caṇḍāśoka but was Dharmāśoka. The sight of the misery and bloodshed made a deep impression on him and "instead of organising military expedition against other countries, he was busy organising peace missions under his Dūtas for purpose of humanitarian work in those foreign countries. (R E. XIII). Silenced was the war-drum (bheri-ghosha), which was replaced by the Dharma-ghosha : there was no longer any summon to war or call to the colours but only a call to moral life (R.E. IV). Thus Aśoka stands out as the pioneer of peace and universal brotherhood in history."[120] Aśoka was always afraid of war and bloodshed and we see that at the end of the Kaliṅga war he felt depressed for the loss and sufferings of human lives. Here we may cite from the Bhagavad Gitā the case of Arjuna, who on seeing his relatives in the battlefield of Kurukṣetra, said to Krishna :

> "Drishtemān svajanān Kṛishṇa yuyutsun samavastitān
> Sidanti mama gatrāṇi mukhanca pariśushyati
> Veputhuśca sarire me romaharshaśca jāyate
> Gāndivaṃ sransata hastāt tvak caiva paridahyate
> Na ca saknomyavastātum bhramativa ca me manaḥ
> Nimittāni ca paśyāmi viparitāni keśava

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[120] AIU, p. 83.

Na ca śrayohanupaśyāmi hatvā svajanamā have
Na kāṁkhe vijayaṃ kṛishṇa na ca rājyam sukhāni ca.”[121]

He (Arjuna) did not like to take part in the war against his relatives though it was against the 'Kshatriya-dharma'. Judging from all these accounts here an important question naturally crops up. . .was Aśoka really a Caṇḍāśoka ? Did he receive the epithet of Dharmāśoka afterwards ? Or was he turned into Dharmāśoka ?

The conquest of Kaliṅga marked a turning point in his life. The Rock Edict XIII describes : “By His Sacred and Gracious Majesty was Kaliṅga conquered. One hundred and fifty thousand in number were those carried off from there (from Kaliṅga), a hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who were dead.”[122] The sufferings, the cruelties and the horrors of the war brought a complete revolution in his mind and his attitude towards conquest. “The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary cmpaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of anuśochanā 'remorse, profound sorrow and regret'”.[123] The king was deeply moved on seeing the loss of human lives that 'there was the remorse of His Sacred Majesty having conquered the Kaliṅgas'.[124] Thus says : “Therefore, even a hundredth or the thousandth part of all those people who were wounded, slain, or carried off captives, in Kaliṅga, would now be considered grievous by His Sacred Majesty”.[125] The conquest of Kaliṅga was the last political event of his reigm. After it he made no conquest further. His feeling of remorse over the killing and capturing of so many thousands of soldiers, his sorrow and regret for those who suffered but were not involved directly in actual warfare and the cruel consequences of the war made a great reaction on Aśoka's personal and public life. He expressed his deep sorrow “not only for the slaughter of fighting men and the misery of prisoners of war, but for the Brāhmaṇas, and pious men of all sects and for householders within the Aryan pale “their friends, acquaintances, comrades and relatives', who had suffered all the cruel consequences of war. . . 'violence, slaughter, and separation from those whom they love”.[126] The proclamation continued even upon the forest tribes. “His Majesty has compassion and he seeks their conversion, inasmuch as the might even of His Majesty is based on repentence”.[127] The Rock Edict XIII says : “Thereafter, now,

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121. SRBVG, ch. I, sl. 28-31, p. 16.
122. AR. p. 162. “(Devana)pri (a)sa pri(a)draśisa sa(ño) Ka(liga) vi(j)ita diadha-mat(r)e apavuḍhe śata-sahasra-matre tatva hate bahu-tavata (ka va) praṇa-śata-(saha)sre y(e) tato m(ute). . .” Ibid., p. 233.
123. PHAI, p. 324
124. AR, p 163.
125. Ibid., p. 164. “. . .Yaṃatro (ja)no tada kalige (ha)to cha muṭ (o) cha apav(uḍha) the tato śata-bhage va sahasrābhagaṁ va(a)ja guru-mataṁ v(o) Devanaṁpriyasa”. ...Ibid., p. 234.
126. HARI, p. 91.
127. Ibid., p. 91.

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the Kaliṅgas being annexed, became intense His Sacred Majesty's observance of Dharma, love of Dharma and his preaching of the Dharma".[128] He considered dharma-vijaya, moral conquest, was the principal conquest.[129] In his words 'the only true conquest lies in the conquest of self (by the Dharma)'[130] In the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata, Bhiṣma expressed the same opinion when he talked about kingly virtues : "A king should first subdue himself and then seek to subdue his foes. How should a king who has not been able to conquer his own self be able to conquer his foes ?"[131] Aśoka became happy to accept the religion of ahiṁsā or non-violence in his life. Gradually he came under the influence of Buddhism which was then one of the most important religions of India. Attracted by the noble teachings of Buddhism he gave up his old religious beliefs and practices and embraced Buddhism. The evil consequences of the Kaliṅga war brought a change in Aśoka's personal and public life and that led to Aśoka's real conversion to the faith of the Buddha.

The Mahāvaṃsa[132] refers to Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism. According to the Bhuddhist tradition, his attention to Buddhism was drawn by Nigrodha Sāmaṇera, who was the posthumous son of his eldest half-brother Sumana. The Mahāvaṃsa describes that one day he saw his nephew, the young novice Nyāgrodha (or Niggodha or Nigrodha)[133] from the window of his palace. The emperor was happy to meet him and he asked him to come to the palace. The young novice Nigrodha came and preached to him the Appamāda Vagga which deals with the necessity of developing in life the quality of appamāda or 'the principle of action' as the essential point of the "Good Faith".[134] According to the Buddha, 'appamāda' is the single term which sums up his whole teaching.[135] The word implies 'acting energetically, exerting oneself strenuously, striving mindfully and with self-confidence'. Its teaching made a profound appeal to his heart. Appamāda was "the keynote of all that Aśoka himself promulgated through his own edicts. Action and action alone was the underlying principle of Aśoka's dhamma and system of administration". It is also worthy of note that the Theravāda tradition refers to the preaching of the doctrine of Appamāda Vagga to him but there is no passing reference to the preaching of the doctrine of

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128. AR, pp. 162-163. "...tato (pa)cha a(dhu)na ladh(a)ṣu (kaligeṣu tivre dharma śilona) dhra (ma-ka) mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanaepriyasa" ...Ibid., p. 233.
129. Ibid., pp. 165-166.
130. HARI, p. 91.
131. MBT, Sect. LXIX, 4; HARI, p. 91.
132. MV, ch. XV.
133. Ibid., ch. XV; AR, pp. 41 and 45. The Mahāvaṃsa tells us that in the seventh year of his reign Aśoka was converted to Buddhism by Nigrodha who was then only seven years old. It mentions further that the latter was born in the year when Prince Sumana, his father, was murdered and Aśoka captured the throne. It is to be noted that the author of the Mahāvaṃsa counted this date not from Aśoka's accession to the throne but from his coronation.
134. BIA, p. 61.
135. AHIS, p. 250; KS, II, 7-8.

Maitri which can be regarded as one of the important cardinal teachings of the Buddha. The meeting between Aśoka and Nigrodha marked an important event in the history of Buddhism. Addressing Nigrodha, Aśoka told : "This very day I accept as my refuge thee and the Buddha and the Doctrine and the Order, together with my wives and children, with my kith and kin. I declare to thee the fact of my having become a lay worshipper".[136] The emperor was happy to accept Buddhism as his religion and he gave his patronage to Nigrodha and other monks of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He became a devout worshipper of the Buddha and he stopped all his grants to other religious sects.[137] But at the request of the Buddhist monks, he, afterwards, restored his benefaction. The Samantapāsādikā[138] throws light on the patronage offered to Nigrodha and the Buddhist Saṅgha by the emperor Aśoka. It says that he spent 5,00,000 gold pieces daily for the religion of the Buddha. Out of 5,00,000 gold pieces, he gave 1,00,000 gold pieces to Nigrodha to spend for religious purpose; he then gave 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for the offering of perfumes and flowers at the Buddha's shrines; he granted 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for the preaching and development of the religion of the Buddha; he gave 1,00,000 gold pieces for the comforts of Buddhist monks; he then gave another 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for medicines for the sick monks. Besides these gifts, he offered sets of robes three items daily to Nigrodha who gave them to other monks of the Buddhist Saṅgha[139] According to the Pali chronicles, Nigrodha, the wise novice, played an important role for Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism.

Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I says : "Thus ordains His Sacred Majesty : 'For more than two years and a half that I had been a lay-disciple (upāsaka), I had not exerted myself well. But a year indeed, for more than a year that I visited the Saṅgha, I exerted myself greatly' ".[140] It shows that when he became a lay disciple he did not show his keenness towards the religion and never engaged himself to do anything for the religion. But when he came into close contact with the Buddhist Saṅgha, he did everything for the progress of the religion. B.M. Barua remarks : "His conversion to the Buddhist faith is to be dated from the time he approached or came in contact with the Saṅgha. I abandon my old position that here Aśoka distinguishes between the two stages of his career as a Buddhist by worshipper, the first when 'he had been only privately cultivating the company and receiving the instruction of an individual Buddhist teacher', and the second 'when he publicly declared himself to be a follower of the Saṅgha and entered upon a career of direct service to the Saṅgha'. As I now maintain, the intended

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136. ABM, p. 20. "Ajj'eva tumha saraṅam upemi, Buddhañ cha Dhammañ cha saraṇañ cha Saṅghaṃ saputtadāro sahanaṭakajjano upāsakattam pativedayāmi taṃ". . . .DV, VI, 55.
137. EB, II, Fascicle 2, p. 183.
138. SP, I, p. 52.
139. PPMS, II, 931.
140. AR, P. 215 and pp. 108-109. "Devānaṁpiye āṇapayaṭi adhikāni aḍhātiyāni v(a)sāni ya hakaṁ. . .sake no ṭu kho bāḍhaṁ prakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ savachharam sātireke tu kho saṁvachharem yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayīte bāḍham cha me pakaṁte. . .".

distinction is between the earlier stage when he had adhered to other sects and the later stage when he began to follow the guidance of the Buddhist Saṅgha in matters of religious faith"[141] Radha Kumud Mookerjee also gives his opinion relating to his conversion to the Buddhist faith. He thus observes[142] : "Before the Kaliṅga war in about 265 B.C., he became a Buddhist, . . .beginning as an upāsaka. He remains such from 265-262 B.C., when his belief in the new faith becomes stronger as a consequence of his remorse, which came naturally to him as a Buddhist for the cruelities caused by the Kaliṅga war, and leads him on to a more intimate relationship with the Saṅgha. This however, should not signify that he became a full-fledged Bhikkhu, as most historians have assumed. If that were so, the fact would have been more directly stated than by the indirect expression. . . saṁgham upagate, which refers to a condition intermediate between the upāsaka on the one hand and the fully-or-damed Bhikkhu on the other, i.e., the Bhikkhu passing through the two stages of ordination known as 'Pabbajjā' and 'Upasampadā', Aśoka did not qualify even for the first stage of the monkhood by not going out of home into homelessness (pravrajyā). He did not renounce the world or his throne, but remained to rule, though in a spirit of being in the world and yet not of it. But that could not get over the technical requirements of the law on the subject. What, then, should be the meaning of the expression. . ."approaching the Saṅgha"? The meaning is perhaps explained by a passage in the Vinaya (III, 7, 8, Sacred Books of the East) which refers to the condition of a Bhikkhugatika as the intermediate one between an upasaka and the Bhikkhu. Buddhaghosa explains Bhikkhugatika to mean 'a person that dwells in the same vihāra with the Bhikkhus' without being a fully ordained Bhikkhu, though he is on the way towards the full Bhikkhuhood. A careful analysis of the tradition on the subject will, however, show that the expression 'saṁghaṁ upagate' points to the stage when Aśoka publicly declared himself to be a follower of the Saṁgha in the fourth year of his reign, and entered upon a career of direct service to the Saṅgha. In his previous stage, he had been only privately cultivating the company and receiving the instruction of an individual Buddhist teacher". Dr. Mookerji[143] further points out that in the Mahāvaṃsa and the Samantapāsādikā it is stated how Aśoka for three years from his coronation had firm faith in the religion of the family, i.e., he was a worshipper of non-Buddhist religion." Rājākira abhisekaṁ pāpunitvā tiṇi yeva samvachchharāni bāhiraka pasaṇḍaṃ parigaṇhi". In the meantime he met Nigrodha, the Buddhist Śramaṇa, who preached to him the Appamāda Vagga. Under his influence Aśoka met several Buddhist monks. After sometime he visited the Buddhist Saṅgha and he requested several Buddhist monks to come to the palace under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa. Thus Aśoka was at first a follower of individual teacher, Nigrodha, but afterwards he became the follower of the Saṅgha.

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[141] AHIS, pp. 215-216.

[142] AR, pp. 23-24.

[143] AR, p. 108, f.n. 3.

Aśoka in his Minor Rock Edict I says : "But a year indeed for more than I visited the Saṅgha I exerted myself greatly".[144] On this point there is a difference of opinion. Some scholars observe that his approach to the Buddhist Saṅgha would mean that he entered the Saṅgha as a Buddhist monk at a certain stage of his life. But no inscription refers to his abdication of the throne and at the same time it is absurd to think that Aśoka became a monk while, as an emperor, he was ruling his vast empire. B.M. Barua expressed his opinion that in the Bhabru Edict, in the Schism Pillar Edict and in Lumbini Pillar Edict Aśoka always shows himself as a king and a lay disciple of the Buddha.[145] There is no reference anywhere to his withdrawal from the world. N. Dutt remarks that there is no hint in the inscriptions and Buddhist traditions to show that Aśoka became an ordained monk. He was a lay devotee and most probably he remained in a monastery for a certain period of time.[146] According to some scholars, Aśoka made a state visit to the Buddhist Saṅgha and he publicly announced his faith in Buddhism. Some scholars even hold the view that Aśoka never became a Buddhist monk but he lived with the Buddhist Saṅgha for more then a year.[147] According to the Buddhist legends, he was ordained in his old age and he attained to the stage of Pratyeka-Buddhahood.[148] We can easily infer from this that when he established his contact with the Buddhist Saṅgha, he became a devout follower of Buddhism and "in the beginning of his fervent aspirations towards perfection" he possibly became a Buddhist monk for a short period.[149] This is corroborated by the statement of the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, who mentions that while he was visiting the Buddhist sacred place in India, he saw an image of Aśoka with monk's robe.[150] But his statement cannot be accepted as authentic, because there is no historical or epigraphical evidence to support it. Whatever may be the difference of opinions among the scholars regarding his close association with the Buddhist Saṅgha, there is no room for doubt about his implicit faith in Buddhism and his immeasurable contribution to the Buddhist world for its propagation.

Aśoka's edicts give us certain information about his unflinching faith in Buddhism. In the Bhabru or Bairāt Edict he makes an open confession of his firm faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. It states : "His Gracious Majesty, king of Magadha, saluting the Saṅgha, and wishing them all health and happiness, addresses them as follows : known is it to you, Reverend Sirs, to what extent is my reverence as well as faith in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. Whatsoever has been said, Reverend Sirs, by the Lord Buddha, all that has of course been well said. But of such what has been selected by me that True Dharma may be everlasting I may be privileged to state. The following, Reverend Sirs, are the passages of the scripture :

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[144] Ibid., p. 188.

[145] AHIS, p. 216.

[146] EMB, II, pp. 262, 264.

[147] AIU, p. 75.

[148] DVY, pp. 140-144.

[149] EB, II, Fascicle 2, p. 187, f.n. 22 : "This custom still prevails in certain Buddhist countries like Burma, where even the eligibility of a young man for marriage is subject to his having spent at least a few weeks in a monastery as a monk. The present king of Thailand, Phumiphon Adulet, also has been a bhikkhu quite recently for a short period of 14 days". Recently this king has lost his throne.

[150] ARBRIMA, p. 73; EB, II, Fascicle 2, p. 187.

(i) The excellent treatise on Moral Discipline (Vinaya—samukasa).
(ii) The course of conduct followed by the sages—modes of ideal life (Aliya-vasāṇi).
(iii) Fear of what may come about in future (Anāgata-bhayāni)—dangers threatening the Saṅgha and the doctrine.
(iv) Poem on 'who is an hermit' (Muni-gāthā).
(v) Discourse on quietism (Mauneya-sūte).
(vi) The questions of upatisya (Upatisa-pasine).
(vii) The sermon to Rāhula beginning with the Sermon on Falsehood, as delivered by the Lord Buddha (Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigichya).

These sections of the Dharma, Reverend Sirs, I desire that most of the reverend monks and nuns should repeatedly listen to and meditate and in the same way the lay disciples, male as well as female (should act). . . ."[151] It clearly indicates that Aśoka's close association with the Buddhist Saṅgha had helped him to acquire some knowledge of the Buddhist texts. For the purpose of their constant study, for their daily practices and for the progress of Buddhism he not only recommended all these texts to the members of the Buddhist Order as well as the lay disciples but he also gave order to his ministers to inscribe them so that people might know his noble mission and his deep love and veneration for Buddhism. It proves his personal allegiance to the religion of the Lord Buddha.

The Divyāvadana[152] says that under the influence of the Buddhist monk Bālapaṇḍita or Samudra, Aśoka became a follower of Buddhism. Addressing Samudra, Aśoka said : "I take refuge in (thee), the sage, and also in Buddha, the supreme embodiment of qualities as well as the Doctrine taught by the elect".[153]

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[151] AR, pp. 117-119 and pp. 217-218 : "pr(i)yadas(i) l(ā)jā Māgadhe saṁghaṁ abhivāde(tū)naṁ āhā ap(ā)bādhataṁ cha phāsu-vihālataṁ chā vidite v(e) bhaṁte āvataka h(a)mā Budhasi Dhaṁmasi Saṁghasī ti gālave chaṁ prasāde cha e kechi bhaṁte bhagavatā Budhe(na) bhāsite sarve se subhāsite vā e chu kho bhaṁte hamiyāye diseyā hevaṁ sadhaṁme chil(a-ṭhi)tīke hosatī ti alahāmi hakaṁ taṁ v(ā)tave imāni bhaṁt(a dha)ṁmapaliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase Aliya vasāṇi Anāgata-bhayāni-Muni-gāthā Mauneyaesūte upatisa-pasine e chā Lāghulovāde musā-vāḍaṁ adhigichya bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite etāni bhaṁte dhaṁma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi kiṁti bahuke bhikkhu-(p)āye chā bhikhuniye ch(ā) abhikinaṁ sun(e)yn chā upadhāl(a)yeyū chā hevammevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā eteni bhaṁte imaṁ likhā(pa)yāni abhipretaṁ mo janaṁtū ti".

[152] DVY, pp. 236-241.

[153] ". . . .tavadya deśayāmi śaraṇam rishiṃ upaimi, taṃ cha Buddhaṃ guṇavaraṃ āryaniveditaṃ cha dharmaṃ". . . .DVY, p. 380.

Afterwards he was greatly influenced by Upagupta[154] who played a great role in Aśoka's life and latter accepted him as his spiritual teacher. It is worthy to mention here that his records do not refer to the name of any Buddhist monk who first converted him or who influenced his later life. But the Buddhist authors give us a number of stories about his conversion to Buddhism which practically conflict with one another. According to the Ceylonese chronicles,[155] (Theravāda tradition), he was first converted to Buddhism by Nigrodha, the young novice, and, afterwards, he came under the influence of Moggaliputta Tissa, the head of the Buddhist Saṅgha. Northern Buddhism, however, tells us a different story. It states that Bālapaṇḍita or Samudra first converted Aśoka to Buddhism, and afterwards, Upagupta, a Buddhist monk, influenced his life. The Divyāvadāna mentions that when Aśoka became an ordinary upāsaka, he announced that he had taken refuge in the Buddha and the Dhamma. "Saraṇaṁ-riṣiṁ upaimi taṁ cha Buddhaṁ guṇavaraṁ āryaniveditaṁ cha dharmaṁ". He even declared that he was ready to give up everything . . . children, home, wives and wealth for the kingdom of righteousness "dharmarājyasya śāsane". Under the guidance of the venerable Upagupta Aśoka visited Buddhist sacred places. It is said in the Aśokāvadāna that when Aśoka, under the guidance of Upagupta, undertook his pilgrimage to the sacred places, he paid his visit to the stūpas of the Buddha's disciples, Sāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Vakkula and Ānanda.[156] He gave hundred thousand suvarṇas (gold pieces) in honour of each of the first three stūpas. He also made a gift at the stūpa of Vakkula. But he spent about ten million suvarṇas for the stūpa of Ānanda. He also went to the Lumbini Park, the Bodhi Tree, the Deer Park (Sārnāth) and the place of the Parinirvāṇa (Kusinagara) and he gave hundred thousand suvarṇas at each of these sacred places.[157] Aśoka's Rock Edict viii states : "His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the present king, when he had been consecrated ten years, went out to the place of Sambodhi,[158] whence these Dharmayātrās in which are the following : visits and gifts to Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇas; visits and gifts of gold[159] to the elders; visits to the people of the country instructing them in morality, and discussion with them on same as suitable thereto".[160] A sculpture which was found on the eastern gate of the Buddhist stūpa at Sāñchi in Madhya Pradesh describes "Bhagavato Sākamunino Bodhi (Asatho)", "(Aśvattha, the Peepul or Ficus Religiosa) the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śākyamuni".[161] It is generally believed that the railing round the Bodhi-tree was erected by Aśoka to commemorate his visit to the sacred place. The panel on the eastern gate of Stūpa I at Sāñchī of the first century B.C. depicts the visit of Aśoka and his queen Tiṣyarakṣitā to the Bodhi-tree. The tree and the temple of Bodh-Gayā are in the centre. On the left is seen a crowd of musicians and devotees carrying water vessels. On the right are the king and the queen descending from an elephant and paying homage to the Bodhi-tree.[162] The panel on the southern gate of Stūpa I at Sāñchī of the first century B.C. represents Aśoka's visit to the Rāmagrāma Stūpa. The panel contains an inscription recording that the architrave in question was the gift of one Balamitra, a Ayacuḍa, a preacher of the Dharma. On the right of the panel is king Aśoka in a chariot followed by a retinue, while to the left are seen Nāgas and Nāgis worshipping at the Stūpa.[163] These sculptures of Sāñchī corroborate the account of the emperor's visit to Bodh-Gayā as described in both legends and inscriptions. The Limbini village or the Buddha's birth place has been identified with the village Rummindei of the district Bithri of Nepal. An inscription which is known as the Rummindei Pillar Inscription was found here. It informs us that it was inscribed not by the emperor himself but by the local people to mark the visit of the emperor to this place. It states : "By His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king, consecrated twenty years, coming in person, was worshipped (this spot), in as much as here was born the Buddha Śākyamuni. A stone bearing a figure was caused to be constructed and a pillar of stone was also set up, to show that the Blessed One was born here. The village Lumbini[164] was made free of religious

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[154] BSI, p. 137 : "If we turn to the succession of teachers (ācārya-paramparā), as given in almost all Sanskrit traditions preserved in Tibetan, it will be observed that after Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi, the succession is recorded differently from that in Pali. Bu-ston (Bu-ston, II, p. 108 : He derived his information from the Vinayakṣudraka of the Mūlasarvāṣtivādins) and Tāranātha tell us that Mahākassapa entrusted the guardianship of the Saṁgha to Ānanda, who in turn entrusted the same to Sambbūta Sāṇavāsi. The latter gave over the guardianship to Upagupta of Mathurā. It is well-known that in the Sanskrit Ava dānas, Upagupta is made the spiritual adviser of Aśoka as against Moggaliputta Tissa of the Pali texts".

The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (Gilgit Manuscripts, III, pt. 1) and the Chinese version of the Aśokāvadāna (A-Yu-Weng-tchuan translated by Saṅghabhadra in 506 A.D. French transl. Przyluski, Legende de l'empereur Acoka) state that while crossing Śūrasena country Bhagavān Buddha came to Mathurā. He prophesied that about a hundred years after his Mahāparinirvāna, a spice-dealer's son Upagupta would be a great religious preacher there. Madyāndina, a disciple of Ānanda, would ordain him and he would be the last of the dharma-preachers. In the Divyāvadāna (p. 348), there is a reference to the advent of Upagupta and the Buddha's forecast about him. (BSI, p. 135). The Buddha foretold that Upagupta would become a Buddha but not with all characteristics of a Sambuddha.

Upagupta occupied an important position in the Sarvāstivāda sect. The Abhi dharmakośavyākhyā (II, 44) refers to him as the composer of the Neṭrapadaśāstra. He became famous as a religious preacher as well as an important writer of the Vaibhāṣika school of Mathurā. . . .BSI, pp. 135-136,

[155] ACHI, pp. 31-32.

[156] LEAICT, p. 29.

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[157] LEAICT, p. 30.

[158] AR, p. 151, f.n. 2 : "Nikrami or Ayāya Saṁbodhiṁ, lit. proceeded towards Enlightenment; cf. the expression Saṁghe upayīte of M.R.E. I. The events referred to in these two expressions are similar in character and took place also about the same time, 260 B.C. The term Saṁbodhi is used in the Mahāvaṁsa (v. 266) in the sense of Buddhism which was taught to Aśoka by Upagupta for instruction as regards "Saṁbodhivrata, Saṁbodhisādhana, or Bodhi-marga."

"Going to Saṁbodhi" may, however, mean a physical process as Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has suggested; it indicates a journey to the place of Enlightenment, i.e., to Bodh Gayā. This meaning follows from the statement that this journey is designated as, and included among, the Dharmayātrās, the royal pilgrimages through the country, which were fraught with so much good for it. The "going to Saṁbodhi" or Gayā was the first of Aśoka Dharmayātrās, which afterwards became the order of the day, as definitely stated in the edict in the expression, tenesā dharmayātā. The Divyāvadāna, however, makes Lumbinivana as the first of the holy places visited by Aśoka on his pilgrimage with Upagupta, and his visit to Bodhi-mūla following afterwards. The Divyāvadāna dates Aśoka's pilgrimage as following the construction of his vihāras and stūpas, which according to the Mahāvaṁsa (v. 173) were completed after the seventh year of his coronation, i.e., after about 262 B.C., and so the legends may be taken to be at one with the inscription on this point. The Divyāvadāna further states that after his first visit to the Bodhi-tree, Aśoka became so much attached to it that it roused the jealousy of his then chief, but wicked queen, Tiṣyarakṣitā who had a spell cast upon the tree to destroy it. Eventually she had to yield to the king's devotion to the tree, and to accompany him on his anxious visit to the tree with elaborate measures to revive it."

[159] AR, p. 152, f.n. 1 : ". . . .This statement about Aśoka's journeys being attended with gifts of gold is supported by the Divyāvadāna where on the occasion of his visit to each Buddhist holy place, Aśoka is said to have given away 1,00,000 gold pieces (śatasahasraṁ dattam). He is also said to have built at each such place a chaitya or shrine as a memorial of his visit. That he must have built such a shrine at Bodh-Gayā is inferred from the fact that it must have served as the prototype of the representations of the Bodhi-tree with its stone śurround and temple figured among the sculptures at Sāñchī and Bhārhut where, moreover, there is the identifying inscribed label, "Bhagavate Sākamunio Bodhi (Asatho)". "Aśvattha, the Bodhitree of Bhagavān Śākyamuni" (Foucher's Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 102, and Marshall's Guide to Sāñchī, pp. 51, 61, 65, 71). Bloch, however, thinks (ASR, 1908-9, pp. 146 ff) that the Bhārhut reliefs cannot be taken to be the representation of the supposed Aśokan fencing round the Bodhi-tree in the absence of any remains, while of the extant remains, the railing, the oldest part, from its inscriptions naming the kings, Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra, is clearly post-Aśokan, of the Śuṅga period, and the other part is of the Gupta period, with its figures of Garuḍas. . . ."

[160] AR, pp. 152-153 and 228-229 : "Devanaṁpriyo Priyadraśi raja daśavaṣabhisito sataṁ nikrami Sabodhi tenada dhraṁma-yatra atra iyaṁ hoti śramaṇa bramaṇanaṁ draśane ḍaṇaṁ vuḍhana(ṁ) daśana hirañа-p(r)aṭividhane cha (jana) padesa janasa draṣana dhrạmanuṣaṣtj dhramapa(ri)p(ru)chha cha tatopayaṁ. . . ."

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161. BHI, p. 41.
162. WB, p. 308.
163. Ibid., p. 308.
164. AR, pp. 202-204, f.n. 1 : ". . . .within a few paces of the pillar stands a temple enshrining an ancient sculpture representing the Nativity of the Buddha, the figure of his mother Mahāmāyā, standing under the sal tree after her delivery with three attendants. . . . in the illustration of the sculpture (plate XIII) (based on that of P.C. Mukherji in ASR, XXVI), Māyādevī stands to the right in a graceful and easy posture, free from labour pains, holding with her right hand the branch of a sal tree, and adjusting with her left hand her lower garments. The skill of a master-hand is shown in the delicate gradation of relief employed to indicate the branch and leaves of the tree, the contours of her head and hand and hair falling in wavelets. To her right, and below her right hand, stands a shorter female figure with her right hand raised to help her. The figure is supposed on the basis of the nativity of legends of the Buddha to be that of her sister Prajāpati Gautamī, but P.C. Mookerji took if to be that of an attendant. The third tall figure is supposed by P.C. Mookerji to be that of Prajāpati, but by V.A. Smith to be a female figure, that of the god Indra who in the story receives the infant Bodhisattva on a cloth. The fourth female figure is that of an attendant. Lastly, there is the figure of infant Bodhisattva standing immediately after his birth, according to the story.

    Regarding the possible age of this sculpture, Watters (On Yuan Chwang, II, 17) remarks that "as it has not been closely examined, its age is quite uncertain". I have

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cesses and also liable to pay only one-eighth share of the produce".[165] Thus the Rummindei Pillar inscription also corroborates the description of Aśoka's visit to Lumbinivana in legends.

Aśoka's Niglīva Pillar or Nigali Sagar Pillar inscription refers to his pious work and his pilgrimage to an important sacred place in the Nepalese Tarai. It says : "By His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king consecrated fourteen years was doubly enlarged the stūpa of Buddha Konākamana[166] (or Konāgamana) and (by him) consecrated (twenty years), coming in person, and reverence being made, was set up (a stone pillar)".[167]

Aśoka's pilgrimage to Lumbini, the birth place of the Buddha, and his inscribed pillars erected at Rummindei and Nigali Sagar give us sufficient reasons to believe that the Nepalese Tarai was included in his empire. A Nepalese tradition[168] records that Aśoka, under the guidance of his spiritual teacher

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closely examined it, and found it to resemble the Sāñchī and Bhārhut sculptures on the same subject (Plate XXVIII, of Cunningham's Stūpa of Bhārhut). V.A. Smith holds (ASR, XXVI 6) that "probably the Rummindei group is the oldest known example of the nativity subject". P.C. Mookherji considers that it shows "that style of workmanship which is generally associated with the time of Aśoka". The material of sculpture also shows it to be Aśokān, because it is "the yellowish kind of stone which was employed in the edict pillars and in the two famous Yakṣa door-keepers of Pāṭaliputra. . . ." Thus if this sculpture is held to be Aśokān, the image of Māyādevī with her attendants and her son might be taken to be very figure referred to in the expression śilā-vigraha, and would thus help to fix the meaning of that difficult passage in the inscription. The passage would then mean that Aśoka marked out the birthplace of the Buddha by two distinct monuments, viz., (i) the pillar (silā-thabe), and (ii) a sculpture representing the Nativity (silā-vigaḍa). It is to be further noted that in the lengendary texts such as the Aśokāvadāna, there is no mention of a stone pillar set up by Aśoka. The record that the Lumbini Garden is the first place to which Upagupta takes Aśoka on his pilgrimage and on his arrival Upagupta tells the king that this is the place of the Buddha's birth and points out the particular tree under which Mahāmāyā stood when her child was born. Then, the king sets up a shrine at the place, makes a donation of 1,00,000 ounces of gold and departs. Watters rightly guesses that the shrine referred to is the one now discovered, and it actually shows us the representation on stone of the tree with Mahāmāyā standing under it. Such a representation was as appropriate a monument to mark the birth place of the Buddha as the pillar announcing it by its inscription. Perhaps it had precedence over the pillar, for it is mentioned first in the inscription as being perhaps constructed first, the erection of the pillar following later. That is why Aśoka has mentioned the two undertakings as two distinct and separate ones in his inscription".

165. AR, pp. 201-204 and 244 : "Devānaṁ(pi)yena Piyadasina lājina vīsativasābhisitena atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamuni ti silā vigatabhī chā kālāpita silāthabha cha usapāpite hida Bhagavaṁ jāte ti Lumṁnini-gāme ubalike kaṭe aṭha-bhāgiye cha. . . ."

166. The third to precede Gautama Buddha or one of the previous Buddhas named Kanakamuni.

167. AR, pp. 205 and 245 : "Devānaṁpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasavasā(bh)i(si)t(e)n(a) Budhasa Konākamanesa thube dutiyaṁ vadhite sābhisitena cha atana āgācha mahīyite. , . pāpite".

168. EB, II, Fascicle 2, p. 185; ANM, p. 221,

Upagupta, went on his pilgrimage to Nepal where a place, known as the city of Patan, which was situated about two miles south-east of modern Khatmandu, was founded by him. There he built one stūpa at the heart of the city and at the cardinal points on its perimeter he erected four stūpas existing still to this day. It is said that his daughter Cārumati who married a Nepalese Kshatriya named Devapāla[169] also paid her visit to Nepal with him. But she did not come back with her father. She and her husband Devapāla founded a city known as the city of Deopatan or Devapatana near Pasupati[170] and spent their days there. She is said to have constructed a monastery to the north of Deopatan in her old age and she as a female recluse used to live there till her last days.[171] The discovery of Aśoka's several inscribed pillars, stone sculptures and the descriptions of his visit to Nepal in legends signify that the emperor Aśoka undertook his pilgrimage and made an extensive 'pious tour' in Nepal. From the above context we conclude that possibly he visited Nepal with Upagupta and founded the city of Patan and for the propagation of Buddhism he built several stūpas. But there is, however, no historical or epigraphical source to corroborate the statements of this Nepalese tradition. Upagupta made an important contribution to Aśoka's religious life and performed meritorious deeds for the progress of Buddhism. His contribution to the Buddhist world during the reign of Aśoka was undoubtedly great. In the reign of Aśoka there was another Buddhist monk whose name was Samudra. The latter, like Upagupta, was one of the most outstanding figures in the Buddhist world and was Aśoka's preceptor and spiritual guide. His services towards the cause of Buddhism cannot be denied. But the historians have neglected him and have ignored his contribution to Buddhism. There is no explicit mention of this Buddhist monk anywhere in the literature and the sacred texts. On the other hand, Upagupta is immortalised in the history of Buddhism for his close association with Aśoka and the historians have made him a prominent figure. He has occupied a permanent place in the Aśokan legends. Even to-day we find many stories in relation to Upagupta's role in Aśoka's life. But there is no reference to him and Samudra in the Aśokan edicts.

Aśoka has been described in his legends as a zealous builder of stūpas and vihāras all over his empire. After knowing from Moggaliputta Tissa that Dharma has 84,000 sections, he constructed an equal number of stūpas and vihāras in his kingdom and he built the Aśokārāma in Pāṭaliputra.[172] There is a tradition that Aśoka seized the Buddha's relics by opening the original stūpas in which they were enshrined and he redistributed them amongst his own 84,000 stupas which he erected all over the country from Kapis to Orissa.[173] His legends record[174] that for their construction he appointed several supernatural agents, i.e., Yaksas, who completed all of them with half a night's labour and invited him to see their work. This is no doubt an exaggeration and the legend-makers have added a supernatural element to describe their story. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. states that in India and even beyond its northern borders he saw almost all the ancient stūpas of Aśokarāja.[175] But Aśoka's edicts do not say anything about the erection of 84,000 stūpas by the emperor. It is said that Aśoka built the great stūpa of Sāñchī. His legends also record the creation of a life-size figure of the Buddha with the help of Mahākāla, the Nāga king.[176] Aśoka's great patronage to Buddhism can be clearly estimated from his vigorous religious activities. The erection of several thousands Buddhist monuments by him in his empire to enshrine the Buddha's relics, establishment of pillars and edicts by him in the Buddhist sacred places to mark his visit and the daily practice of worship offered by him at the stone of the Buddha's foot-prints at Pāṭaliputra as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang[177] throw sufficient light on the important role played by the great emperor to create a favourable atmosphere for the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom.

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[169] IA, XIII, 1884, p. 412.

[170] Ibid., p. 412.

[171] Ibid., p. 412; ANM, p. 221.

[172] DPPN, I, p. 218.

The next bit of evidence with regard to Aśoka's patronage to Buddhism is to be found in his Minor Pillar Edicts at Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī and Sāñchī, where these edicts relate how Aśoka, in order to avoid disturbance and confusion in the Buddhist Saṅgha, issued order that the Buddhist monks or nuns, who would bring a schism in the Saṅgha, would receive the punishment of expulsion from the Saṅgha. Aśoka's Minor Pillar Edict at Sārnāth says : "(Thus ordains) His Sacred (and Gracious) Majesty. . .Pāṭa(liputra). . .the Saṅgha cannot be torn asunder by any one whatsoever. Whoever, monk or nun, breaks up the Saṅgha must be made to wear white garments and to take up abode in a place other than a monastery. Thusshould this order be made known in the Saṅghas of Bhiksus as well as of Bhiksunīs..."[178]

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[173] AR, p. 60, f.n. 1 : "The relics were originally in the possession of the Mallas of Kusinārā, where the Buddha died, but they were forced to share the relics with seven other claimants who made a hostile combination for the purpose. These seven claimants were : Ajātasatru of Magadha, the Lichchhavis, of Vaiśālī (or Vesālī), the Śākyas of Kapilāvastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a Brāhmaṇa of Vethadīpa, and the Mallas of Pāvā. This 'war of the Relics' represented in the Sāñchī sculptures, was settled by the intervention of Droṇa, the Brāhmin. Centuries later, Aśoka revived this war on the relics in another form by opening the stūpas in which they were deposited, but failed of his purpose at the stūpa of Rāmagāma against the defence of its heroic guardians, the Nāgas. The scene is depicted on one of the gateways of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī, showing the emperor approaching in his chariot with his army of cavalry, infantry and elephants".

[174] MV, V, 78-80; MMK, p. 27, vv.369 ff; EB, II, Fascicle 2, p. 189; IHI, p. 12.

[175] EB, II, Fascicle 2, p. 189.

[176] DPPN, p. 218.

[177] OYC, II, p. 92.

[178] AR, pp. 193-194 and 243 : "Devā-el-Pāṭa-ye kenapi saṁghe bhetave e chuṁ kho (bhikh)u (vā bhikh)uni vā saṁgham bh(ākha)t(i) s(e)odātāni dus(ān)i (sa)ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā of ānāvāsasi āvāsayiye hevaṁ iyaṁ sāsane bhikhu-saṁghasi cha bhikhunisaṁghasi cha viṁnapayitave. . . ."

Aśoka's Minor Pillar Edict at Kauśāmbī states : "...Also whosoever, monk or nun, breaks up the Saṅgha, after being clothed in white garments, shall take up abode in a place other than a monastery".[179] Aśoka's Minor Pillar Edict at Sāñchī also mentions : "... the Saṅgha of the monks and nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the sun and moon (shall shine). The monk or nun who shall break up the Saṅgha should be caused to put on white robes and reside in a non-residence. For what is my desire ? That the Saṅgha may be united and be ever-lasting".[180] All these three edicts refer to the common subject of schism in the Saṅgha and to the king's attempt to maintain the integrity of the Buddhist Church and prevent schism within its fold. Here Aśoka assuming the role of the head of the Buddhist Saṅgha and the Defender of Buddhism tried to avert schism in the Saṅgha and protected the Saṅgha from schismatic disturbances. The Mahāvaṃsa[181] states that Aśoka once "arranged an assembly of the community of bhikkhus with its full members" in the Aśokārama. "He then called to him in turn the bhikkhus of several confessions, and asked them : 'Sir, what did the Blessed One teach ?' And they each expounded their wrong doctrine. And all these adherents of false doctrine did the king cause to be expelled from the Order. . . ." Aśoka expelled the heretical monks from the saṅgha after giving them white robes (satakāni vatthāni dattvā).[182] Here the legends and his edicts confirm one another regarding his statements against the schism.

Aśoka specifies some classes of animals, birds and fishes whose slaughter he prohibits (Pillar Edict V) on particular days observed as holidays according to the Brāhmanical and Buddhist usages. Aśoka's Pillar Edict V says : "...on the three chāturmāsīs (i.e., on the full-moon day which falls before (or after) the usual season of four months), and on the Tiṣyā (i.e., Pausa month) full-moon, fish shall neither be killed, nor sold for three days, viz., the fourteenth, the fifteenth, of the first, and the first of the second, fortnight, as well as [on all fasting days as a rule. On the same days, again, in the elephant-forests, and in the preserves of the fishermen, other classes of living creatures must not be killed. On the eighth (tithi) of every fortnight, on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on the Tiṣyā, and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the three seasons and at festivals, bulls shall not be castrated, nor he-goats, rams, and boars, nor other such animals as are usually castrated. On the Tiṣyā and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the seasonal full-moons, the branding of horses and cows is not permitted. Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in

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179. Ibid., pp. 199 and 243 : ". . . .(Saṁghaṃ bhā) khati bhikh(u) v(ā) bhikh(u)ni vā(se pi) chā (o)dāt(ā)ni dusāni (sa)naṁ dhāpayitu a(nāvā)sas(i ā)v(ā)sayiy(o)...."
180. Ibid., pp. 200 and 244 : ("...gh)e. . .mage kaṭe (bhi)khūna (ṁ) cha Bhi(khum)īnaṁ ch(ā)ti(p)uta-pa-(po)-tike chaṁ(da)m(a-sū)ri(yi)ke ye saṁghaṁ bh(a)khati bhikhu vā bhikhum vā odātāni dus(ān)i sanaṁ(dhāpay) itu anā(vā)sasi vā(sā)petaviya(e)ichhā hi me kiṁti saṁghe samage chila-thitīke siyā ti".
181. MV, V, 270; AR, p. 198.
182. AR, p. 198.

this period, twenty-five jail-deliveries have been effected by me".[183] This Pillar Edict gives us an idea about Aśoka's Regulation of Piety (Dhamma-niyama) motivated by the spirit of ahiṁsā. It impresses us that Aśoka as a true Buddhist observed the rules and regulations of the Dharma strictly. For the welfare of his subjects and for the propagation of Dharma he issued the abovementioned statement in his edict and he wanted that his subjects should follow in their daily life.

The Aśokāvadāna of the Divyāvadāna states that Aśoka declared : "Let all those who are the Śrāvakas of the Blessed Buddha condescend to come as an act of favour to me". About three hundred thousand monks attended a great assembly of pañchavaraṣ or pan-caparised (five assemblies) which Aśoka convened. The king made his offer to this assembly his son Kuṇāla, his ministers and even his own person, reserving for himself his treasure. Afterwards he paid 4,00,000 Suvarṇa for all these gifts.[184] The Aśokāvadāna[185] records further that Aśoka's liberality to the Buddhist Saṅgha and the monks was carried to such an excess towards the end of his life that when he came to know about Anāthapiṇḍaka's largest donation to the Buddhist Saṅgha he declared that he would also give a thousand millions to the Buddhist Saṅgha. In order to fulfil his promise he worked hard and spent hundreds of gold coins for the moral uplift of his subjects, for religious education, for the erection of monasteries and for the religious monuments. In this way he spent about nine hundred ninety-six crores for the promotion of the religion of the Buddha. But before the fulfilment of his promise he fell ill and he understood that he might not live any longer. He spoke to his minister Rādhagupta : "I do not feel sorry for any loss of my wealth (or property), of my own kingdom, or for my separation from my house (or residence), but I feel sad because I shall have to be separated from the Āryas (i.e., the Buddhists)".[186] Again Aśoka spoke to Rādhagupta : ". . .My shedding of tears is due to my thought that I shall not (be able to) worship personally the Saṅgha (the Buddhist congregation), endowed with all virtues and revered by men and gods, by supporting the same with excellent food and

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183. Ibid., pp. 185 and 239 : " . . .tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu tisāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ tiṁñi divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnadasaṁ paṭipadāy (s) dhuvāye chā anuposathaṁ machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye etāni yevā divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṁnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṁtaviyāni aṭhamīpakhāye chāvu-dasāye paṁnadasāye tisāye puṇāvasune tīsu chātuṁmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviya ajake edake sūkale e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye tisāye punāvasune chātuṁmāsiye chātuṁmāsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane no kataviye yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavisati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni . . .".

184. DYVP, p. 279 : " . . .kosam sthāpayitvā mahāpithivīmantaḥ purāmātyaganamātmānaṁ Kuṇālam ca Āryasaṁghe niryātayitvā catvāri satasahasrāṇi datvā niskṛitavān". . . . LEAICT, p. 222. IHBI, p. 426.

185. LBB, pp. 95 ff ; AVD, pp. XLIX ff.

186. LBB, p 96. DYVP, p. 279 : " . . .nāham dravya-vināśaṁ na rājyanāśanaṁ na cāśrayaviyogaṁ śocāmi, kiṁ tu śocāmi . . .Āryaiyardhiprayukkhāmi".

drink".[187] Aśoka, in order to fulfil his promise, sent gold, gems and other valuables to the Buddhist Saṅgha.[188] But his grandson Sampadi or Samprati, who was then the crown-prince, asked the treasurer not to spend anything for charities. So Aśoka could not make any gift. When nothing was available he then used to send to the Buddhist Saṅgha his gold plates in which his meals were served. But when no gold plate was served to him he then used to send to the Buddhist Saṅgha his silver plates. But that too was stopped by the order of the crown-prince. Even Aśoka as his last gift sent to the Buddhist Saṅgha the half of the āmalaka fruits[189] which was pounded to powders by the members of the Buddhist Saṅgha. They then mixed those powders in their soup and they served to all the monks of the monasteries. He sent a messenger with the half of the āmlaka fruit and his message to the Elder of the Kukkuṭārāma[190] : "Aśoka, the emperor of Jambudvipa, sends his last gift to the Monastic Order. The only treasure that he possesses now is this broken piece of āmalaka. With all humility he presents this. Will your Holiness find out some means to serve it to all the monks of the monastery". He also adds further : "This is my last gift. My kingdom and riches have all come to their original state of void. He for whom the physicians with their thousand and one remedies have given up all hope, and takes refuge in you, the last shelter of the shelterless". Aśoka, before he breathed his last, had made a gift of the whole kingdom to the Buddhist Saṅgha.[191] After his funeral when his successor was about to ascend the throne, Rādhagupta, the minister, told the crown-prince and the ministers that the emperor Aśoka promised to give a thousand millions to the Buddhist Saṅgha. But due to the order of the crown-prince he could not spend the whole amount. He spent nine hundred sixty millions for the Buddhist Saṅgha. But for the remaining sum he made a gift of the whole kingdom to the Buddhist Saṅgha. On hearing of it the minister sent the sum of forty millions to the Buddhist Saṅgha after it Aśoka's immediate successor ascended the throne of the Maurya empire.[192] The History of Tāranātha also describes that about three hundred thousand monks were present in an assembly of pañchavarṣa which was held under the patronage of Aśoka. The emperor offered one thousand million gold pieces to the assembly of monks. But he fell ill when he presented them with nine hundred and sixty million gold pieces.[193] No Aśokan edict is there to confirm the kernel of truth underlying the

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187. LBB, p. 96. DYVP, p. 279 : "Nāham punaḥ sarvagunopapannaṁ saṁghaṃ samakkhaṁ naradevapujitaṁ saṁpujayishyāmi varānnapanai retaṁ vicinatyāśruvimokkhanaṁ me".
188. DYVP, p. 279.
189. LBB, p. 98 ; AVD, p. lii.
190. LBB. p. 98 ; AVD, p. lii. DYVP, p. 280 : "...Jambudvīpaiścaryasya rājñña esha sāmpratam vibhava iti. Idaṁ tāvad paścimam dānaṁ tathā paribhoktabyaṁ yathā me saṁghagatā dakkhinā vistīrnār syāditi. Āha ca ...idaṁ pradānam caranam mamādya rājyam ca taṁ caiva gataṁ svabhāvaṁ ārogyavaidyoshadhivargirtasya trātha na mehassyāyarganādbhidhār".
191. DYVP, p. 281.
192. Ibid., p. 282.
193. LEAICT, p. 122.

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stories of the Aśokāvadāna and of Tāranāthā. Whatever may have been the exact fact of Aśoka's liberality to the Buddhist Saṅgha and the monks as stated in the Aśokāvadāna and the account of Tāranātha there is not the least doubt about Aśoka's singularity of devotion and the distinct services rendered by him to the cause of Buddhism. He patronised it and with unflagging zeal he devoted himself wholeheartedly to its propagation and the welfare of the Buddhist Church.

From the Chinese records we know that Aśoka played an important role in the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir. Hiuen Tsang,[194] the Chinese traveller, in his account writes that Aśoka sent Buddhist monks to Kashmir to popularise Buddhism there. He also constructed monasteries at that place. The Chinese pilgrim further mentions that an attempt was made to kill the monks by drowning them into the Ganges. They, however, managed to escape and settled in Kashmir. When Aśoka came to know of this incident, he became agitated and at once he sent his messengers to ask them to return. When they refused to come back to Magadha from Kashmir Aśoka erected five hundred monasteries there for these Buddhist monks and 'gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist Church' (Saṅgha).[195] Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇi describes that Aśoka not only built a beautiful city named Śrīnagarī but also covered Suṣkaletra and Vitistrā with many stūpas, and one of his stūpas was so high that 'its pinnacle could not be seen'.[196] According to N. Dutt,[197] the investigators of 'mind and matter', who fled from Magadha to Kashmir to save their lives, were the Sarvāstivādins. According to their tenet, nāma (mind) and rūpa (matter), which are admissible into 64 elements, are real and exist for ever (sarvam asti). That is why they were known as the Sarvāstivādins, who regarded Aśoka as their great patron. From Tāranātha's account we also learn about Aśoka's patronage and his gifts to the Sarvāstivādins of Aparāntaka, Kashmir and Tukhara.[198] Aśoka's repentance and his request to the Buddhist monks to return to Magadha from Kashmir corroborate the story of the Aśokāvadāna which relates that Aśoka towards the end of his life convened a council to settle the difference on matters of doctrine and discipline among the monks and he requested the Buddhist monks at

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194. DYC, I p. 269 ; BSI, p. 138.
195. Ibid., I, p. 267 ; Ibid., p. 138 ; GM, I, p. 8.
196. RTG, p. 6, I, 101-104 ; RTGI, pp. 7-8, I, 101-104 ; GM, I, p. 9 : ". . . .Athāvahadśokakhyaḥ :
satyasaṁdho vasumdharāṃ.
Yaḥ santavrijino rājā prapanno jinaśāsanam.
Sushkaletravitasthātrau tastāra sthupamaṇḍalaiḥ.
Dharmāraṇyavihārāntavirtastātrapurebhavat.
Yatkritaṁ caityamutsedhāvadhiprāptyakshabhekshanam.
Sa shannavatyā gṛhānām laikshailarkshmīsamujjvalaiḥ.
Gariyasīm purīm śrīmāmścake śrīnagarīṃ nṛīpaḥ."
197. BSI, p. 138.
198. STGR, p. 38; GM, I, p. 9.

Tamasāvana in Kashmir to attend this council.[199]

The Aṭṭhakathās[200] and the Ceylonese chronicles (the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa)[201] mention that Aśoka with the object of purging the Saṅgha of the heretics convoked the Third Buddhist Council at Pāṭaliputra. The Dīpavaṃsa states that at the end of 236 years after the death of the Buddha this council was held. The Mahāvaṃsa refers to it in the seventeenth year of the reign of Aśoka. His edicts make no allusion to it and naturally it throws doubt on its historicity. There is a difference of opinion among the scholars as to whether the council was actually held or not. V.A. Smith rejects it on the ground that there is no reference to it in the Aśokan edicts.[202] According to E.J. Thomas,[203] there was no council at all and it was the invention of the Ceylon chroniclers. Prof. Kern[204] expresses his doubts about the actual session of the council. Mrs. Rhys Davids[205] thinks that eight monks revised the Piṭakas in the council and the heretics were expelled after the session of the council. N. Dutt[206] says that this council was probably an affair of the Theravādins and that is why the Chinese and the Tibetan sources and other texts of the non-Theravādin sects completely ignored it. Even the Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing do not say anything about it. The Theravādins as distinguished from the Mahāsaṅghikas played an important role in this council. Practically, it was the meeting of the Theravādins who summoned this council under the patronage of Aśoka to discuss their problems. We can, therefore, say that it was not a general meeting of all Buddhists but a sectarian meeting.[207] This is the reason why Northern Buddhism does not make any reference to this council and is silent on it. The Pali account may be briefly stated thus[208] : "When 236 years had elapsed after the Nirvāṇa, sixty thousand monks dwelt in Aśokārāma. Sectarians of different descriptions, all of them wearing the kāshāya, ruined the Doctrine of the Jina. It was then that Tissa Moggaliputta convoked a council, attended by one thousand monks. Having destroyed the false doctrines and subdued many shameless people, he restored the true faith and propounded the Abhidhamma treatise Kathāvatthu . . . ." This account gives an idea that this council was convoked by a section of the monks who were the Theravādins to discuss their own views and to suppress the views maintained by the non-Theravāda monks and to popularise their teachings to the people in general. It can be inferred that the meeting was convened for sectarian affairs. It is said that at the end of the council Aśoka despatched missionaries to propagate the Gospel of the Buddha in different countries.

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199. GM, I, p. 9 ; DVY, p. 399; BSI, p. 139.
200. SP, I, pp. 53 ff ; KVPAK, pp. 5-6.
201. DV, VIII, 10 ; MV, XII, 41.
202. EHI, p. 161.
203. HBT, p. 35.
204. EMB, II, p. 265.
205. Ibid , II, p. 266.
206. Ibid., II, p. 265.
207. ACHI, p. 83.
208. Ibid., p. 83.

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Aśoka in his edicts mentions all his activities performed by him for the promotion of the Dharma, but had not referred to his council in his edicts. It is difficult to say why he was silent on this point. We may not agree with the account of the council which may throw doubt on its historicity; but we are inclined to believe that the causes leading to the convention of the council may have contained some historical basis. The Second Buddhist Council refers to the breach between the Theravādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas and their relation was gradually deteriorating and it affected the Buddhist Church so much so in the reign of Aśoka that it became almost impossible for the monks of these two sects to live together in the same Āvāsa (Residence). The Theravādins refused to hold Uposatha with the unorthodox monks and this was the reason for the session of the council and the unorthodox monks were expelled from the Saṅgha. Aśoka in his Minor Pillar Edicts at Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī and Sāñchī[209] was bold enough to declare that if any monk who would break up the Saṅgha or would bring a schism in the Saṅgha would receive the punishment of expulsion from the Saṅgha. This fact signifies that there was unsettled condition in the Saṅgha and Aśoka took precautionary measures against it and he referred to it in his edicts. The breach between the Theravādins and the unorthodox monks and the former's refusal to hold Uposatha with the latter indicate that there was no peaceful atmosphere in the Saṅgha and these were very likely the causes for the session of the council. A clue to this situation is probably found in the edicts of Aśoka.

The Ceylon-chronicles state that about two hundred years after the death of the Buddha many non-Buddhists, who held unorthodox views in doctrine and discipline, joined the Saṅgha in order to live comfortably there. The Theravādin monks did not like to perform the Uposatha ceremony with the unorthodox monks and no Uposatha was held for seven years owing to this reason. On hearing of it, Aśoka sent one of his ministers to Aśokārāma requesting the monks to hold the Uposatha. But they refused. His minister became mad with rage at the audacious behaviour of the monks and he beheaded them one after another. When Aśoka got the news, he felt remorse and he thought that he was responsible for this act of his minister. He felt guilty. He not only approached the monks of the Aśokārāma but he also invited Moggaliputta Tissa, the oldest and the most learned of the monks, to the Aśokārāma to say something about the heinous act of his minister. At the advice of Moggaliputta Tissa he purged the Saṅgha of the heretics and he expelled them from the Saṅgha. It is said that he expelled about 60,000 heretics, who refused to subscribe to the Vibhajjavāda, i.e., the analytic method of textual exegesis, favoured by the Theravāda school. For this reason a council, which is known as the Third Buddhist Council, was held under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa, who composed the Kathāvatthu, one of the seven texts of the Abhidharma Piṭaka, in the session of the council. Aśoka patronised it and gave his every help to make it successful.

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[209] AR, pp. 242-243.

At the conclusion of this council Aśoka sent forth nine missionaries to nine different countries to propagate the religion of the Buddha. The Mahāvaṁsa[210] states that Aśoka sent Majjhantika (Madhyāndina) to Kashmir and Gandhāra (Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts), Mahādeva to Mahisamaṇḍala (Mahiṣmati, a district south of the Vindhyas or Mysore or Māndhātā), Mahārakkhita to Yavana or Greek country (the foreign settlements of the North Western Frontier Province), Rakkhita to Vanavāsi (North Canara), Dhammarakkhita to Aparāntaka (western countries like Alor, Broach and Sopārā), Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha (Mahārāshtra), Majjhima to Himavanta (the Himalayan country), Mahinda to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon or Śrī Laṅkā) and Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Lower Burma).

In the Samantapāsādikā[211] there is a reference to Aśoka's missions to different countries. It records that Majjhima along with Kassapagotta, Alakadeva, Dundubhissara and Mahādeva went to Himavantapradeśa where they gave a discourse called the Dhammacakkappavattanasutta 'Turning of the Wheel of the Law' dealing with the four Noble Truths (cattāri ariyasaccāni) and the Noble Eightfold Path (Ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga) and they converted eight million people to Buddhism. It also says further that Yonaka Dhammarakkhita went to Aparānta country where he delivered a discourse named the Aggikkhandopamasutta 'The discourse on the Parable of the flames of fire' and he converted thirty-seven thousand people; Majjhantika went to Kashmir and Gandhāra where he recited the Āsīvisūpamasutta 'the simile of the serpent', i.e., he delivered a discourse on āsīviṣa (venom of a serpent). He converted eighty thousand people there; Mahādeva went to Mahiṁsakamaṇḍala where he preached to them the Devadutasutta 'Discourse on the messengers of god', i.e., 'dealing with old age, disease and death as messengers of Yama, the god of death' and converted forty thousand people; Rakkhita visited Vanavāsi and gave a sermon called the Mahānāradakassapajātaka and converted eighty-four thousand people; Mahārakkhita went to Yanaraṭṭham and delivered a discourse known as the Kālakārāmasutta; and Soṇa and Uttara went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi where they preached the Brahmajā lasutta and converted sixty thousand people there.

The Mahākarmavibhaṅga[212] also refers to the conversion of different countries to Buddhism. It relates that Mahākātyāyana went to Avanti, Madhyāndina went to Kashmir, Gavampati went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Piṇḍola Bharadvāja went to Pūrva Videha, Mahendra went to Siṁhala and Pūrṇa Maitrāyāniputra went to Surpāraka (or Sopārā). Here its author has presented before us a list of the names of the theras and the countries in a confused manner. Because he has mixed up the earlier tradition with the later. The earlier tradition refers to Mahākātyāyana as going to Avanti, Gavampati to Suvaṇṇabhūmi and Pūrṇa

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210. MV, XII, 1-8.
211. AR, pp. 33-34.
212. MKV, pp. 61-62 ; EMB, II, pp. 271-272.

Maitrāyāniputra to Surpāraka and the later tradition speaks of Madhyāndina as visiting Kashmir and Mahendra going to Siṁhala.

Despatch of envoys by Aśoka to different places in India and some of the regions outside his dominions with the object of prompting the Dharma was undoubtedly an important event in the history of Buddhism in the third century B.C. Aśoka's zeal for the spread of Buddhism reached such an extent that his missionary activities were not confined to different places in India but were also extended to her neighbouring countries. It was through his strenuous efforts that Buddhism was firmly established in several places of India and in some of the foreign countries. He was the first Indian emperor who visualised the thought of spreading the religion of the Buddha in foreign countries and crowned it with success. This was indeed a significant event in the history of Buddhism. But Aśoka, who was so careful to record all his activities and the measures taken by him for the promotion of the Dhamma in his several edicts, nowhere spoke of his mission to different places in India and abroad. Although his edicts form the main source of information regarding his contribution to the Buddhist world, it is very strange that they do not make even a passing reference to this particular event, which is regarded as one of the most important religious events in the ecclesiastical history of Buddhism in ancient India. It generally appears in our mind whether he deliberately omitted it or he hesitated out of shyness to record his name as a propagandist of Buddhism for posterior ages. At present we leave these pertinent questions to be solved by modern researchers in the light of further discovery of historical facts. Perhaps Aśoka's activities for the propagation of Buddhism, his visit to several Buddhist places for its welfare, the coming and going of Buddhist monks, to the sacred places seeking assistance from the Elders and giving guidance to the newcomers and such other affairs were of such common occurances that Aśoka did not consider them to be of special significance and he thought of not mentioning all of them in his edicts. This omission although strange need not throw any doubt on the authenticity of the whole story relating to these missions as contained in the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa. The Ceylon chronicles are regarded by most of the Indologists as genuine works of the history of Buddhism in Ceylon and their authors record the more important incidents relating to the history of Buddhism not only in Ceylon but also in India and in several regions of South-East Asia. These chronicles afford us valuable information regarding religious and cultural history of Ceylon and her neighbouring countries. The statements relating to them in these chronicles are very often corroborated by inscriptions, proving these chronicles as reliable and trustworthy sources. Therefore it is quite certain that this account of Ceylon chronicles regarding Aśoka's missions to different places in India and foreign countries has some historical value, though there is no reference to it in the Aśokan edicts.

The Dīpavaṁsa states that Majjhima did not go alone to Himavanta, Kassapagotta, Dundubhissara, Sahadeva and Mūlakadeva also went with him. There is a reference to some of these names in inscriptions in early Brāhmī characters of the second or first century B.C. found on the stūpas at Sāñchi.[213] An inscription on the side of a relic-box discovered in stūpa no. 2 at Sāñchi says: "(the relics) of all teachers beginning with the Arhat Kassapagota and the Arhat Vāchhi Suvijayata".[214] Besides it, four caskets with inscriptions were also found inside the relic-box. These inscriptions refer to the names of several teachers whose relics were kept inside the caskets. The names of these teachers are: Kassapagotta (Sava-Hemavata-ācariya "the teacher of all the Hemavatas"), Majjhima, Hāritīputra, Vāchhi Suvijayata (Vātsi Suvijayat), Mahavānaya, Āpagiva, Kodiṇiputa (Kauṇḍinīputra), Kosikiputa, Gotiputa (Gauptiputra) and Mogaliputa (Maudgaliputra).[215] From the list of these teachers we can say that Kassapagotta and Majjhima were Aśoka's missionaries who went to the Himālayān countries and others were probably the theras who attended the Third Buddhist Council. According to some scholars, Mogaliputa was Moggaliputta Tissa who presided over the council. Majjhima's name is also found in the superscription of a relic-casket discovered in stūpa no. 11 at Sonari[216] and Kasapagota (Kassapagotta) under the name of Kotiputta was also mentioned in one inscription from the same stūpa.[217] In another inscription Gotiputa of the above list along with Dadabhisāra was discovered. These inscriptions confirm the names of Aśoka's missionaries, viz., Kasapagota, Majjhima and Dundubhissara of the Ceylon chronicles. It is to be noted in this connection that in the Mahāvaṁsa[218] there is a reference to Majjhima as the leader of the mission to Himavanta. But the inscriptions on the Sāñchi relic caskets mention that the teacher of the Himālayān countries was Gotiputa Kasapa-gota "Sava-Hemavata ācāriya".[219] A Hemavata school which was a branch of the Theravāda sect probably had its origin in the Himālayān country and Kassapagotta or Kasapagota was perhaps the teacher who converted this region and its people into Buddhism. According to D.R. Bhandarkar, Aśoka despatched two parties, one to the Himālayān regions which included Kashmir and Gandhāra and the other to west India. He says further that the leader of the Himālayān regions was not Majjhima but was Gotiputa Kasapagota and Majjhantika, who, according to the Ceylon chronicles, went to Kashmir and Gandhāra, was identical with Majjhima. He also mentions that Gotiputa Kasapagota, the leader of the party in which Majjhima was one of its members, asked the latter to take the charge of Kashmir and Gandhāra for the propagation of Buddhism.[220] Similarly, he thinks that the missionaries Rakkhita, Dhammarakkhita, Mahādhammarakkhita and Mahārakkhita, who, according to Ceylon chronicles, went to Vanavāsi, Aparāntaka, Mahāraṭṭha and the Yavana country respectively were not four separate persons. Most probably, they denoted one and the same person, who was sent for the promotion of Buddhism to Western

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213. LLBI, no. 157 ; AGS, ch. X; MS, I, pp. 291-294.
214. AR, p. 34.
215. Ibid., p. 35.
216. AR, p. 35.
217. Ibid., p. 35.
218. MV, XII, 41.
219. LLBI, nos., 155-158.
220. AK, p. 150.

India comprising Vanavāsi, Aparānta, Mahāraṭṭha and Yonaloka.[221] Apart from the inscriptions on the Sāñchi relic caskets, there is no other inscription available at present to corroborate the names of Aśoka's missionaries and the account of his mission as recorded in the Ceylon chronicles. These inscriptions do not, however, confirm fully all the details of the Ceylon chronicles. But in spite of it, it proves definitely that the Ceylonese chronicles present accurate information relating to Aśoka's mission for the propagation of Buddhism after the session of the Third Buddhist Council.

The accounts of Aśoka's Rock Edict II and XIII give the names of several countries where Aśoka dispatched his messengers for Dharma-vijaya or Moral conquest and for medical treatment arranged for men and beasts. We may assume from these accounts that there was regular intercourse between Aśoka's capital and the places mentioned in his edicts during his reign. His Rock Edict II says : "Everything within the dominion of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king, and likewise among the frontagers such as the Choḷas, Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputra, what is (known as) Tāmraparni, the Greek king Antiochos, and those kings, who are the neighbours of that Antiochos. . .everywhere have been instituted by his Sacred and Gracious Majesty two kinds of medical treatment . . . medical treatment for man and medical treatment for beast. Medical herbs also, those wholesome for man and wholesome for beast, have been caused to be imported and to be planted in all places wherever they did not exist".[222] His Rock Edict XIII states : ". . . And what is Dharma-vijaya, Moral conquest, is considered by His Sacred Majesty the Principal conquest. And this has been repeatedly won by His Sacred Majesty both here (in his dominions) and among all the frontier peoples even to the extent of six hundred yojanas where (are) the Yona king, Antiochos by name, and, beyond that Antiochos, the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander; below the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmpraparṇī. . . ."[223] His Rock Edict XIII states : "Likewise, here in the king's dominion, among the Yonas, and Kambojas, among the Nabhakas Nabhitis, among Pitimikas, among the Andhras and Palidas, everywhere are (people) following the religious injunction of His Sacred Majesty".[224] From

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221. Ibid., p. 150.
222. AR, pp. 131-132 and 223 : "sarvata vijītamhi Devānaṁpriyasa Piyasasino rāño evampi prachaṁtesu yathā choḍā pāḍā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo a Taṁbapaṁṇī Aṁtiyako Yonarājā ye vā pi tasa Aṁtiya (a) kas (a) sāmīp (aṁ) rājāno sarvatra Devānaṁpriyasa priyadasino rāño dve chikichha katā manusa-chi-kīchhā cha pasu-chikīchhā cha osudhāni cha yāni m(a) nusopagān (i) cha paso (pa) gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā hārāpitāni cha rop (ā) pitāni . , . ."
223. Ibid., pp. 165-168 and 234; HFRAI, p. 59. " . . . .ayi cha mukha-mut (a) vijaye Devanaṁpriyasa iha cha savaşu cha Devanaṁpriya (sa) dharma-vijayo so cha puna ladho Devanaṁpriyasa iha cha savaşu cha aṁteşu (a) şaşu pi yojana śa (t) eşu yatra Aṁtiyoko nama Y (o) na-raja paraṁ cha teṅa Atiyayok (e) na chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Aṁtikini nama Make nama Alikasudaro nama nicha choḍa-Paṁḍa ava Ta (ṁ) bapaṁ (ni) ya . . . .".
224. Ibid., pp. 168 and 234-235 : "(e) vameva (hi) da raja-vişavasapi yona-ka (ṁ) boyeşu Nabhaka Nabhitina Bhoja-Pitinikeşu Aṁdhra-Palideşu savatiae Devanaṁpriyasa dhramanuśasti anuvaṭaṁti".

these edicts we gather information that his missionary activities for social service and the spread of the Dhamma were not confined to the limits of his empire, i.e., were not confined only to India. His records also refer to his contact with the kingdoms of the independent rulers of the western world. It was due to his efforts his missionary activities had spread over India, Ceylon, Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus and Cyrene.[225] He also tells further in the same edict : "Even those to whom the envoys of His Sacred Majesty do not go, having heard of his Sacred Majesty's practice, ordinances and injunctions of Dharma, themselves follow, and will follow, the Dharma".[226] D.R. Bhandarkar remarks that here Aśoka probably indicated his religious propaganda in China and Burma.[227] From his edicts we may guess that Aśoka was in the habit of sending his messengers to preach the Dharma not only in his dominions but also in the neighbouring and distant kingdoms.

Aśoka's Rock Edicts II and XIII show clearly that India and Ceylon which was known as Tāmraparṇī during the reign of Aśoka, came into close contact with each other through the missionary activities of Aśoka. It indicates that his reign witnessed close cultural and religious contact of India with Ceylon. Considering Aśoka's close relations with Ceylon and frequency of intercourse between the two countries, it is quite natural that when Aśoka intended to send missionaries to different places for the spread of Buddhism, he included Ceylon in the list of countries and he chose the crown-prince Mahinda, his beloved son, who forsook his crown to become a monk, for the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon, which was well-known to him through his missionary activities. From the chronicles we know that king Devānaṁpiya Tissa of Ceylon, who was the contemporary of king Aśoka, is said to have sent an embassy with valuable presents to the court of Aśoka.[228] This mission which was led by his nephew Ariṭṭha spent about five weeks in the capital of Aśoka and they went back to Ceylon. Aśoka in return despatched ambassadors with various gifts to the king of Ceylon. He also sent a special message to the Ceylonese king : "I have taken refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and the Saṅgha and declared myself a follower of the religion of Śākyaputta. Seek then, even thou, oh best of men, converting thy mind with believing heart, refuge in these best of gems".[229] Immediately after it Aśoka sent his son Mahinda to Ceylon to propagate the teachings of the Buddha.[230] Devānaṁpiya Tissa, the king of Ceylon, became a convert to Buddhism and with him the whole population of the country turned towards Buddhism. After some

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225. Ibid., pp. 233-235 ; AK, p. 140.
226. Ibid., pp. 169 and 235 : "yatra pi Devanaṁpriyasa duta no vrachaṁti te pi śrutu Devanaṁpriyasa dharma-vuṭaṁ vidh (a) naṁ dhramanuśasti dhramaṁ (a) nuvidhiyaśaṁ (ti) cha".
227. AK, p. 140.
228. AR, p. 35; ANM, p. 218.
229. MV, XI, 18-36; BC, p. 9 : "Ahaṁ Buddhaṁ ca Dhammaṁ ca Saṅghaṁ ca saraṇaṁgato, upāsakattaṁ vedesiṁ Śākyaputtassa sāsane, tvamp'imāni ratanāni uttamāni naruttame, cittam pasādayitvāna saddhāya saraṇaṁ bhaja".
230. MV. XII, 7-8 ; DV, VIII, v. 13,

time a mission from king Devānaṁpiya Tissa came to the court of Aśoka to bring the royal princess, the nun Saṅghamittā, a sister of Mahinda for the ordination of queen Anulā of Ceylon and her companions and a branch of the Bodhi-tree.[231] The arrival of the Bodhi-tree, the sacred relics, the Alms-bowl of the Buddha and the Buddhist texts from India was an important event associated with the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon by Mahinda. From that time until now, Ceylon (Śrī Laṅkā) has been the home of the orthodox Saṅgha and has kept intact the teaching of the Buddha in its purest form. This form of Buddhism is generally known as Theravāda. Some scholars try to discredit the whole account of the Ceylon chronicles on the ground that there is no inscription to corroborate it. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri says : "There is nothing intrinsically improbable here, and Aśoka's reference to Tambapaṇṇi twice in his inscriptions shows that once more the chronicles are only embellishing historical occurences".[232] Inspite of the omission of Mahinda's mission to Ceylon in the Aśokan edicts and the rejection of the account of the Ceylon chronicles by several scholars, we may accept, after careful study of his Rock Edicts II and XIII, the Ceylonese tradition regarding this episode as genuine historical fact.

The Ceylon chronicles state that Aśoka sent Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi to introduce Buddhism there. Several scholars like V. Smith, H. Kern have doubted about the authenticity of Aśoka's mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[233] Some scholars are inclined to believe that Soṇa and Uttara are not two separate names but they may have represented one single individual.[234] Rāmaññadeśa or Lower Burma is referred to as Suvaṇṇabhūmi in the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions of Burma. The Siamese also claim that Suvaṇṇabhūmi is Southern Siam. But it is generally accepted by most scholars that Suvaṇṇabhūmi is Lower Burma. Doubt is thrown upon the historicity of Aśoka's mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi by the absence of any sort of reference in his edicts or by the absence of archaeological evidence in Lower Burma regarding the prevalence of Buddhism in the third century B.C. This omission in his edicts and the absence of any evidence in Lower Burma do not, however, prove or disprove the historicity of the facts referred to in the Ceylon chronicles.

After having reigned for about 40 years Aśoka died in 232 B.C.[235] The names of several of his sons have come down to us from different sources of information. The Brāhmanical, the Buddhist and the Jain works give the names of his successors, who ascended the throne after him. The Vāyu Purāṇa states that Kuṇāla occupied the throne after Aśoka and reigned for about eight years. Then Bandhupālita, his son, became the ruler. Aftergiving some names, the

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231. DV, XI, 25-40, XII, 1-7 ; XV, 74-95, XVI, 38-41, XVII, 81-87 ; MV. XI, 18-42, XVII, 21, XIX, 29-30.
232. ANM, p. 219.
233. A, pp. 43, 55; MIB, p. 117.
234. AK, p. 145.
235. EHI, p. 207; PHAI, p. 348.

Purāṇa refers to Bṛihadratha, the last ruler of the Maurya dynasty. The Matsya Purāṇa[236] says that Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvan and Bṛihadratha were Aśoka's successors. According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa,[237] seven kings who ascended the throne after Aśoka were Suyaśas, Daśaratha, Saṅgata, Śāliśūka, Somaśaram, Śatadhanvan and Bṛihadratha. The Divyāvedāna[238] mentions the following names: Sampadi, Bṛihaspati, Vṛishasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra. The Rājataraṅgiṇī[239] refers to Jalauka as Aśoka's successor in Kashmir while Tāranātha refers to Virasena as his successor ruling in Gandhāra. The Jain writers state that Balabhadra was a Maurya king at Rājagṛiha[240] from the statements found in the divergent versions of the Brāhmanical, Buddhist and Jain works, it is difficult to draw a correct history of the later Maurya dynasty immediately after ihe death of Aśoka. H. C. Raychaudhuri remarks: "Unfortunately, no Megasthenes or Kauṭilya has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Aśoka's successors from the scanty data furnished by one or two inscriptions and a few Brāhmanical, Jain and Buddhist works."[241] There is no uniformity relating to the names of Aśoka's successors in the statements of the Purāṇas which are regarded as the most valuable sources for the study of early Indian history. They themselves do not agree as to the name of Aśoka's immediate successor. H.C. Raichaudhuri[242] has discussed the problem regarding the successors of Aśoka. He observes: "It is not improbable that the Maurya empire broke up after the death of Aśoka, and was divided among his sons, one of whom inherited the home province and another made himself independent in the north-west".

KUṆĀLA

According to the Purāṇic tradition, the immediate successor of Aśoka was his son Kuṇāla. A close study of the different literary sources reveals the real existence of Kuṇāla who is the centre of a cycle of legends in the Buddhist literature. The Divyāvadāna represents Kuṇāla as the son of Aśoka's queen Padmāvatī who never ascended the throne. According to the Divyāvadāna legend,[243] he was deputed to Takṣasilā to suppress a revolt; but he was made blind through an intrigue of his step-mother Tiṣyarakṣitā. Although he was deprived of his sight his life was spared and afterwards he adopted the life of a Buddhist monk. J. Przyluski draws our attention to an interesting legend entitled by him as the Kuṇāla-sūtra,[244] which is preserved in the Tokyo edition of the Tripiṭaka and this sūtra throws some light on the activities of Kuṇāla who was also known as Dharmavivardhana. We may quote in this connection a

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236. DKA, pp. 27-30.
237. Ibid., pp. 27-30.
238. DVY, pp. 430-433.
239. RTG, I, pp. 108 ff; PHAI, p. 350.
240. IKB, p. 9.
241. PHAI, p. 349.
242. AAHI, p. 110.
243. PHAI, p. 349.
244. AAHI, p. 110.

relevant passage from Przyluski's work entitled The Legend of Emperor Aśoka : "The departure of the young prince for Takshasilā is explained here in a manner quite different from that of the Aśokāvadāna. He does not go there to suppress any revolt at all. The king of Gandhāra is dead. The inhabitants of the locality place themselves spontaneously under the authority of Aśoka. The later deputes his son to govern them. Next follows a pompous eulogy of Gandhāra. Under the administration of Dharmavivardhana the Law of the Buddha is piously observed and the country knows the same high prosperity as Aśoka had decided to bestow on the world. The latter retained for himself that part of his empire extending from the Himālayas to the ocean; the other half from the Indus to China attributed to Kuṇāla.[245]

This account presupposes the existence of a great empire beyond the Indus where the Law of the Buddha flourished and the capital of which was situated in Gandhāra. It must have been written under the Kushāns and probably by one of their subjects. The eulogy showered on Gandhāra, the care taken to avoid all allusions to a revolt occurring in that country, are so many indications that enable us to fix the residence of the writer in the north-western region. The north-western origin of the writer explains the importance attributed by him to prince Dharmavivardhana who is represented not only as the governor of Takshasilā but also as reigning supreme over half of Jambudvūpa. The panegyric of the prince and his kingdom is after all a means of bringing on a par the empire of the Indo-Scythians and that of Aśoka. The two powers divided the world between themselves and Kuṇāla who is supposed to have opened Central Asia to Buddhism as Kanishka did later, became the principal personage of the legend to the extent that his story served as the framework of the Deeds of Aśoka.[246]

From these features one recognises the work to have been composed during the Kashmirian period. The events too appear to belong to the same epoch. Whereas in the Aśokāvadāna Aśoka's son remains blind, the Kuṇālasūtra relates the story of his recovery".[247]

Thus this sūtra introduces some interesting episodes from which we learn that Dharmavivardhana (Kuṇāla), the son of Aśoka, introduced Buddhism into Central Asia. It may be further pointed out in this connection that one of the Khotanese legends "asserts that the earliest ancestor of the royal family of Khotan was the prince Kuṇāla, Aśoka's son, who was himself exiled from Taxila".[248]

JALAUKA, TĪVARA AND MAHENDRA

The Rājataraṅgiṇī does not refer to the prince Kuṇāla. We learn from the Kashmir chronicle that immediately after the death of Aśoka, his son

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[245] DVY, p. 407; AHIS, p. 53.

[246] LEAICT, pp. 112-113; BSA, pp. 194-195.

[247] LEAICT, p. 113.

[248] EHI, p. 203,

Jalauka[249] declared independence in Kashmir and conquered the plains as far as Kanauj. He might have acted as the viceroy of his father before he made himself independent in Kashmir. He was not favourably disposed towards Buddhism, but on the contrary, he was a votary of the Nāga and Śaiva cults of Kashmir.[250] Another son of Aśoka, named Tivara, who is mentioned in the Queen's Edict, does not seem to have received a share of the patrimony. Mahendra,[251] who shares his father's devotion to Buddhism, never aspired after the imperial throne. He joined the Buddhist Order and took the leading part in the diffusion of Buddhism in Ceylon.

DAŚARATHA

According to V.A. Smith "Aśoka seems to have been succeeded directly by two grandsons Daśaratha in the eastern and Samprati, son of Kuṇāla, in the western provinces".[252] Daśaratha like his grandfather Aśoka used the title Devānaṁpiya or Davānaṁpriya in the inscriptions. He ruled in Magadha shortly after Aśoka and bestowed his patronage upon the "venerable Ājīvikas". Three short inscriptions[253] found on the walls of the three rock-hewn caves on the Nāgārjuṇi Hills in Bihar describe that His Majesty Daśaratha immediately after his coronation dedicated these caves as dwelling places to the venerable Ājīvikas. A. Banerji Sastri remarks : "Looking to the relation of the Ājīvikas with the Buddhists we see that latter have no cause for special resentment against either an Ājīvika or a Jain. Buddhist rulers like Aśoka and Daśaratha bestow cave-dwellings on the Ājīvikas at Barābar and Nāgārjuṇi Hills in the same spirit as they build stūpas for the Buddhists or order alms to the Brahmanas, elsewhere."[254] King Daśaratha although a warm supporter of the Ājīvikas is nowhere represented as playing any role in inimical activities against Buddhism which was the most prominent religion of the country at that time.

SAMPRATI

The other grandson of Aśoka named Samprati was not favourably disposed towards Buddhism. Buddhist tradition[255] throws reflection on his anti-Buddhistic spirit which is attested by his disapprobation and stoppage of Asoka's largesses bestowed on the Buddhist Church in view of the consequent waste of resources of the empire. On the contrary, he espoused the cause of Jainism and extended his patronage to members of this community. The Jain authorities eulogise him as a

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249. Ibid., p. 201; PHAI, pp. 350, 361.
250. RTGI, I, pp. 136; 140-144.
251. DV, p. 27.
252. DHI, p. 137.
253. A, p. 145; ANM, pp. 244-245; ACHI, p. 44; AIU, p. 89; PHAI, p. 351; JNI, p. 65; IA; XX, 1891, p. 266.
254. JNI, p. 65; JBORS, XII, 1926, p. 55.
255. DVY, p. 429; OYC, II, p. 95; EMB, II, pp. 248, 255; BSA, pp. 149-150.

great patron of their faith. "He is reputed to have been as zealous in promoting the cause of Jainism as Aśoka had been in propagating the religion of Gautama".[256] He is said to have been converted to Jainism by Suhastin,[257] a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, the great Jain teacher. Hemacandra observes: "He showed his zeal by causing Jain temples to be erected over the whole of Jambudvipa. During Suhastin's stay at Ujjaini, and under his guidance, splendid religious festivals and processions in honour of the Arhat were celebrated and great was the devotion manifested by the king and his subjects on this occasion. The example and advice of Samprati induced his vassals to embrace and patronise his creed, so that not only in his kingdom but also in adjacent countries the monks could practise their religion".[258] Samprati popularised Jainism in his kingdom and also sent Jain missionaries to different places for its propagation. The Pāṭaliputrakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri[259] records: "In Pāṭaliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kuṇāla, lord of Bhārata with its three continents (trikhaṇḍam Bharataksh atraṁ Jināyatanamaṇḍitam), the great Arhanta who established vihāras for Śramaṇas even in non-Aryan countries". During his reign Jainism flourished also in the Andhra and Dramilla countries in South India.[260] It is said: "Almost all ancient Jain temples or monuments of unknown origin are ascribed by the popular voice to Samprati, who is in fact regarded as a Jain Aśoka".[261] As to his enthusiasm for the development of Jainism and its Saṅgha, it can be mentioned here that "he was one of the leading stars of the Jain history in the north".[262]

ŚĀLĪŚŪKA AND BṚHADRATHA

Names of a few more princes,[263] who succeeded Aśoka's grandsons, each reigning for a few years, are found in the Purāṇic lists and the existence of one of them, named Śālīśūka, is corroborated by the testimony of the astronomical work, Gārgī Saṁhitā which alludes to him "as a wicked quarrelsome king". "Unrighteous, although theorising on righteousness, he cruelly oppresses the country". Bṛhadratha, the last prince of the Maurya dynasty, mentioned in the Purāṇas and Bāna's Harṣacarita, was assassinated in or about 187 B.C. by his general Puṣyamitra, who laid the foundations of a new dynasty known as that of the Śuṅgas in the Purāṇas.

The foundation of the Maurya empire was a unique event in the political as well as in the religious history of ancient India. The long-cherished dream of a united India integrated by political and spiritual ties under one ruler wielding authority from the Himālayas to the ocean came near realisation during the reigns of three emperors belonging to the Maurya dynasty. From the point of view of religion the Maurya period was the most eventful one in Indian history. The followers of different creeds including even the Ājīvikas vied with one another in securing the patronage and support of kings, nobles and common people for the rapid spread of their respective faiths throughout the country with the result that Buddhism came to the forefront during the reign of Aśoka.

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[256] DHI, p. 138.
[257] JNI, p. 145.
[258] PSP, XI, 69.
[259] Ibid., XI, 65; PHAI, p. 351; ACHI, p. 44; BG, I, I, 6-15.
[260] PSP, XI, 69; JNI, p. 145.
[261] EHI, p. 202.
[262] JNI, p. 144.
[263] EHI, pp. 203-204; PHAI, pp. 352-353.

One of the Greek writers bears testimony to the fact that Chandragupta Maurya, the first great historical emperor of India, was a follower of the sacrificial religion. According to the Jains, he was an earnest follower of the religion of Mahāvīra. But the Brāhmanical tradition[264] suggests that Chandragupta, although an ardent devotee of the Jain faith, was equally enthusiastic in espousing the cause of Buddhism (Bauddhatatpara) for its welfare and progress in his empire. Thus from its available data at our disposal, it may be presumed that though a devout Jain, he never showed any hostile attitude towards other religions but on the contrary, extended his patronage to all denominations including the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists.

Unfortunately, nothing definite is known about the religious policy of Bindusāra, a shadowy figure in Indian history; but there is reason to believe that he also inherited the spirit of religious toleration from his father. The only direct evidence throwing light on the topic is that of Buddhist tradition. The Theravāda tradition recorded by Suddhaghoṣa represents Bindusāra as a "votary of the Brāhmaṇs" (Brāhmaṇabhatto) who used to feed daily "the Brahmaṇs and Brāhmanical sects, the Paṇḍaraṅga Parivrājakas (Ash-bodied wanderers) and the like, 60,000 in number".[265] The Divyāvadāna[266] account indicates that he may have supported the Ājīvika sect as well; but it is very strange that the Buddhist sources, which speak so highly of Aśoka and his contribution to the Buddhist world, do not contain even a passing reference to his activity for the cause of Buddhism.

In the history of Buddhism the place of the Maurya Emperor Aśoka may be ranked as second to that of Śākyamuni, the founder of the religion. "Aśoka did for the religion of Buddha what Darius the Great or Xerxes had done for that of

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264. While dealing with the marriage of Chandragupta with a Greek girl Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya draws our attention to an interesting verse from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (III, 6.43) which throws considerable light on this topic. The verse with its comment thereon may be quoted thus :
Chandraguptastataḥ paścātpaurasādhipateḥ sutām
Sulūbasya tathodvāhya yāvanīṃ Bauddhatatparaḥ
If Sulūba be identified with Seleucas, which is not improbable, then it shows that Chandragupta actually married a Greek girl and hence all his successors had Greek blood in their vain. It further gives the interesting information that Chandragupta patronised the Buddhists". . .BSA, pp. 92-93.
265. AHIS, p. 24.
266. DVY, pp. 370 ff; BSA, p. 101 ff; AR, p. 3, f.n.

the Avesta and St. Paul did for that of Christ".[267] Epigraphic and literary evidences testify to the fact that shortly after the Kaliṅga war Aśoka, who had so long followed the traditional beliefs and practices of Brāhmanical religion, turned over a new leaf and being inspired by the underlying truth and spirit of the lofty teachings of Gautama Buddha he adopted the "Saddhamma" as his personal religion. His conversion to Buddhism opened a new epoch in the history of Buddhism. Buddhism secured the imperial patronage of Aśoka and it was mainly through his efforts the religion was raised from the position of a local faith to the status of a world religion. Aśoka, an ardent Buddhist, made it the business of his life to propagate the new faith within the limits of his far-flung empire and the independent kingdoms in the southernmost part of India, but also outside the geographical belt of the subcontinent. But with all his faith in Buddhism, he was tolerant of other creeds. He also extended his patronage to the contemporary rival sects, like the followers of the Brāhmanical religion, the Ājivikas, the Nirgranthas, as well as to other religious fraternities. His missionaries disseminated the 'Gospel of Truth' not only "over the whole of India and Ceylon but also over those parts of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus and Cyrene, which were subject to the Greek rulers".[268] Missionaries were also despatched to Suvarṇa-bhūmi (Lower Burma and some adjoining regions) with a view to propagating the message of the Buddha. Thus in fact, Aśoka laid the foundation of Buddhism as a world religion. With regard to the wonderful success of Buddhism in this direction, V.A. Smith thus observes : "His imperial patronage, gradually increasing as his faith grew in intensity, made the fortune of Buddhism, and raised it to the position which enables it still to dispute with Christianity the first place among the religions of the world, so far as the number of believers is concerned."[269]

After the death of the Buddhist monarch we hear of no other Post-Aśokan ruler who was as sincere and zealous a patron of the Buddhist faith as he was. Available literary sources, including those of the Buddhists and the Jains, seem to indicate that these rulers were indifferent towards the religion patronised by Aśoka, as they were votaries of other rival creeds which had already obtained a firm hold on different sections of the people. It is not known definitely whether the succeeding rulers of the Maurya line excepting Kuṇāla were supporters of Buddhism like their illustrious predecessor Aśoka. As it has already been stated, the account of the Kashmir chronicle reveals that Jalauka, a devotee of Lord Śiva, was not only unfriendly but also hostile in his attitude towards Buddhism. But unlike the inimical prince Jaluka, Kuṇāla, another son of Aśoka, is represented in the Buddhist tradition as a patron of Buddhism and his name is also associated with the introduction of Buddhism into Central Asia. Conclusive evidence of Daśarath's leanings towards the Ājivika faith is furnished by the short dedicatory inscriptions on the walls of cave-dwellings bestowed on the members of the same order. That Samprati, another grandson of Aśoka, was a sworn Jain is also evident from the Jain literary source and it is also supported by the remains of ancient temples and monuments associated with the religion of Jina which are traditionally attributed to this prince. If the Buddhist literary tradition is to be relied upon to some extent, this prince even went so far as to interrupt Aśoka, a doting devotee of the Buddha, in his bestowal of lavish gifts on the Buddhist Order. But although Buddhism, patronised by the great emperor Aśoka, created some apathy among most of his successors, it never excited hostility in any of the Maurya royal houses (with the exception of that Jalauka) of the succeeding period. It thus seems reasonable to assume that the antipathy of the later Mauryas could not stand in the way of progress of Buddhism which had enjoyed so much favour during the reign of Aśoka.

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[267] AHIS, pp. 329-330

[268] AK, p. 140.

[269] EHI, p. 198.

GENEALOGY OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY[270]

THE MAURYAS OF PIPPHALIVANA

Chandragupta
Bindusāra
Sushīma (Sumana), son of Bindusāra
Aśoka, son of Bindusāra
Vīgatāśoka (Tissa), son of Bindusāra
Nigrodha, son of Sushīma
Mahendra, son of Aśoka
Kuṇāla (Suyasas), son of Aśoka
Jalauka, son of Aśoka
Tīvara, son of Aśoka
Bandhupālita (Daśaratha), son of Kuṇāla
Samprati, son of Kuṇāla
Vīgatāśoka, son of Kuṇāla
Śāliśūka, son of Samprati
Somasarman (Devavarman)
Satdhavan
Bṛihadratha
Pṛurnavarman

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[270] PHAI, p. 367.

FOUR

BUDDHISM IN THE ŚUṄGA-KĀṆVA PERIOD

THE ŚUṄGA DYNASTY

PUSHYAMITRA (c. 187-151 B.C.)

The Purāṇas and the Harshacarita[1] state that Bṛihaḍratha, the last Maurya emperor of the Magadha kingdom, was murdered by his commander-in-chief of the forces (Senāpati) Pushyamitra, who captured the throne of Magadha and founded (a new dynasty known as) the Śuṅga dynasty, which ruled for a period of one hundred and twelve years (c. 187-75 B.C.).[2] The assassination of Bṛihadratha marked the end of the rule of the Maurya dynasty after reigning for a period of about one hundred and thirty-seven years. The Divyāvadāna mentions Pushyamitra as a descendant from the Mauryas. The Purāṇas state that he belonged to the Śuṅga family. But Kālidasa in his Mālavikāgnimitra refers to Pushyamitra's son Agnimitra as a member of the Baiṁbika family of the Kāśyapa lineage. It

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1. DKA, pp. 30-31; HC, p.
2. The lengths of individual reigns are as follows : Pushyamitra 36, Agnimitra 8, Sujyestha 7, Sumitra 10, Andhaka 2, Pulindaka 3, Ghosha 3, Vajramitra 9, Bhāgavata 32, Devabhuti 10, total—120. But the total is categorically stated to be 112 in the Purāṇas; (ACHI, p. 101, f.n. 3), Prof. Jagannath observes : "The three names in the Purāṇic list, namely those of Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghosha, do not appear to belong to the Śuṅga family and have crept into the Purāṇa texts on account of some confusion on the part of the editor of these texts. Taking advantage of the turmoil consequent in the murder of Sumitra, the Andhras appear to have raided Magadha. It may be on account of this unrecorded raid resulting in a temporary occupation of Pāṭaliputra that the two names Andhraka and Pulindaka got into the list of Śuṅga kings. Ghosha of the Purāṇic list may be identified with the ruler of Pāñchāla whose copper coins are known. That these names are extraneous to the Śuṅga dynasty is clearly indicated by the fact that their inclusion creates a chronological anomaly. The Purāṇas assign a total duration of 112 years to the Śuṅga dynasty. But if we add up the period of the rule of each king, including these three kings. . . . Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghosha. . .the total for the whole dynasty comes to 120. By excluding them we can arrive at the true figure of 112 years as their reigns together cover a period of 8 years only". . . .ACHI, p. 101.

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may be noted in this connection that Pāṇini (in Sūtra IV, I) associates the Śuṅgas with the well-known Brāhmaṇa family belonging to the Bhāradvāja clan. In spite of the different opinions regarding the lineage of Pushyamitra, his Śuṅga origin is generally accepted and he was regarded as the founder and the first ruler of the Śuṅgas.[3] According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 434) the capital of Pāṭaliputra continued to be graced with the presence of the new king. Pushyamitra ruled over an extensive dominion. His empire extended to the south of the river Narmadā. The cities of Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Vidiśā and Vidarbha (Berar) were under his rule. According to the Divyāvadāna and Tāranātha's account he ruled over Jālandhar and Śākala in the Punjab.[4] He had to face the Greek invasion from the North-West which even threatened Pāṭaliputra. The Greeks[5] were, however, repulsed and Pushyamitra crowned his successes with the celebration of two horse-sacrifices.

"Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyamuni."[6] According to the Divyāvadāna and Tāranātha,

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3. "The lineage of Pushyamitra has been a subject of controversy in recent years. H.C. Raychaudhuri (Indian Culture III, p. 739) thinks that the name of the family was Baiṁbika. He draws attention to a verse in the Mālavikāgnimitra (IV, 14) where Agnimitra calls himself a Baiṁbika. In the Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra, 'Baiṁbikayah' are mentioned amongst the Kāśyapas, and Raychaudhuri connects this with the mention of a Kāśyapa Senāṇi in the Harivaṁsa (Bhavishyat Parva, ch. II, 40). It should, however, be noted that the form in the Mālavikāgnimitra is Baiṁbika whereas in Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra it is Baiṁbiki. Raychaudhuri further remarks : 'It may be remembered in this connection that the dynastic designation Śuṅga is applied to Pushyamitra and his progeny only in the Purāṇas. It is not used in reference to the Senāṇi and his son in the Divyāvadāna, the Mālavikāgnimitra or even in the Harshacarita which mentions the dynastic revolution involving the overthrow of the last of the Imperial Mauryas (Indian Culture, VI, p. 410). He concludes "the possibility is therefore not precluded that the Purāṇas may have included under the name Śuṅga, two distinct groups of kings, viz., the line of Pushyamitra which is styled Baiṁbika by Kālidasa and the real Śuṅgas who succeeded this time and are referred to by Bāṇa and the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti" (Indian Culture, VI, 411). In spite of these forceful arguments we have preferred to designate Pushyamitra as a Śuṅga for two reasons. Firstly, the word baiṁbika in the Mālavikāgnimitra has been translated as "a gallant lover" by Apte, and there is nothing to show that it was a proper name. Secondly, Dhaṇadeva of the Ayodhyā inscription who is a descendant of the Senāpati, is apparently a Śuṅga as he is closely associated with the Śuṅga branch of Kosala, founded by Mūladeva". . . .ACHI, pp. 95-96, f.n. 4.
4. PHAI, p. 371; AIU, pp. 95-96. According to Prof. Narain, the story of the Divyāvadāna which refers to the extension of Pushyamitra's rule as far west as Śākala is not right. He thinks that though he ruled over a large dominion, his empire never extended to Śākala. Probably the Divyāvadāna's Śākala was situated very close to Pāṭaliputra (The Indo-Greeks, p. 87). Prof. Narain suggests : "Śākala in the text is a mistake for Śāketa (Ayodhyā), which was probably in the dominion of Pushyamitra and which was a centre of Buddhist activity nearer to Pāṭaliputra". . . .The Indo-Greeks, pp. 87-88, f.n. 3.
5. PHAI, p. 379; ACHI, pp. 153-154. According to some, the Greek invader was not Manander, but Demetrios. The Mahābhāshya and the Mālavikāgnimitra do not mention the name of the leader of the Greek invaders,
6. PHAI, pp. 388-389.

the Buddhist Tibetan historian, Pushyamitra was a fierce enemy of Buddhism. The former source says that he destroyed stūpas, burnt many monasteries from Madhyadesa to Jālandhar in the Punjab and killed many learned monks. He even made an attempt to destroy the Kukkuṭārāma, the famous monastery, at Pāṭaliputra but he could not do. He got frightened by a roar and he returned without damaging anything.[7] The Divyāvadāna refers in clear terms to his misdeeds in this direction : "Bṛhaspati was the son of Sampadi and Vṛsasena was Bṛhaspati's son, Puṣyadharman was Vṛsasena's son and Puṣyamitra was Puṣyadharman's son.

He sent for the ministers (and said)..."what may be the way by which our name (renown) may last long?" They replied. . . ."There was the king named Aśoka who was born in your Majesty's family. By him were established eighty-four thousands of religious stūpas (Dharmarājikas). As long as the Lord's teaching will prevail, so long his fame will last. Your Majesty should also construct eighty-four thousands of Dharmarājikas". The king said—"King Aśoka was highly powerful. Is there any other way (for fame to last long)?" His Brāhmaṇa priest was an ordinary man, not faithful (i.e. not believing in Buddhism). By him was said thus. . . ."Your Majesty, name (fame) will last for (these) two reasons". Meanwhile king Puṣyamitra by equipping his army of four-fold troops preceded towards the Kukkuṭārāma (monastery) with the purpose of destroying the religious teaching of the Lord. At its door a lion's roar (war-cry) was raised (by the Monks ?). Then the king being afraid entered Pāṭaliputra. This happened twice and thrice. Then calling for the bhikṣu (monks) and the congregation, he said. . . ."I shall destroy the Lord's teaching. Do you wish to have stūpas and monasteries?" The bhikṣus, accepted the (offer) Then Puṣyamitra, having (destroyed) the monaśteries and killed the bhikṣus, went away. He reached the Śākala country. By him was said—"Whoever will bring me the head of a (Buddhist) Śramaṇa will be given by me a hundred pieces of dīnāra (gold) coins". Then they (the people) began to offer such heads on account of the idea of Dharmarājikas being out of the pale (of the king's favour). Hearing this the king began to bring about the slaughter of the Arhats. (But) he attained cessation of consciousness. His attack on others did not succeed. Leaving aside his effort (to do evil) he entered into a place of concealment."[8] According to some

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[7] ACHI, p. 99.

[8] LBB, pp 100-101. DVY, pp. 433-434 : "Śaṃpader Vṛihaspatiḥ putro Vṛihaspater Vṛishaseno Vṛishasenasya Pushyadharmā Pushyadharmanaḥ Pushyadharmanaḥ Pushyamitraḥ so'mātyān āmantrayate ka upāyaḥ syād asmākaṃ nāma ciraṃ tishṭhet tair abhihitam devasya ca vaṃçād Açoko nāma rājā babhuveti tena caturaçītidharmarājikāsahasraṃ pratishthāpitam yāvad Bhagavacchāsanaṃ prāpyate tāvat tasya yaçaḥ sthāsyati devo'pi caturaçīti dharmarājikā sahasraṃ pratishṭhāpayatu rājāha maheçakhayo rājāçoko babhūva anyaḥ kaçcid upā ya iti tasya brāhmaṇa purohitaḥ prithagjano' çrāddhaḥ tenābhihitaṃ deva dvābhyām kāra ṇābhyaṃ nāma ciraṃ sthāsyati yāvad rājā Pushyamitra caturaṅga-balakāyaṃ saṃnāhayitvā Bhagavacchāsanaṃ vināçayishyāmīti Kukkutārāmam nirgataḥ dvāre ca simhanādo muktaḥ yāvat sa rājā bhitaḥ Pāṭaliputraṁ pravishṭaḥ. . . .

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scholars,[9] he justified his position as head of the Brāhmanic reaction by destroying the Buddhist monasteries on the one hand and on the other, he restored the sacrificial ceremonies of the Brāhmanic faith with the help of some of his contemporary Brāhmaṇa leaders. The performance of two horse sacrifices by Pushyamitra after his wars with Viderbha and the Yavanas possibly indicates that Pushyamitra was a brāhmin in the truest sense of the term. An inscription found at the door of a temple at Ayodhā states : "This Ketana (a statue house or flagstaff) to Phalgudeva, (his) father is caused to be made by Dhana (deva), the Dharma-rājan, the ruler of Kosala, the son of (the Lady) Kauśiki, the sixth (brother) of Senāpati Pushyamitra who performed two Aśvamedhas, i.e., two horse-sacrifices".[10] The performance of these horse-sacrifices indicates the revival of animal sacrifices of the old religious and social customs of the Brāhmaṇas which were totally stopped by Aśoka, who deprived the Brāhmaṇas of their long-enjoyed right of guiding the religion of the people and some of their privileges for the welfare of his subjects, though he paid equal respects to the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas. But the Brāhmaṇas reacted against the reforms of some of the Buddhist rulers and slowly but silently made demonstration against their rules. It is generally believed that the downfall of the Maurya empire and the rise of Pushyamitra were the results of the Brāhmanical reactions against Aśoka's pro-Buddhist policy and the pro-Jain policy of some of his successors, and the aim of the Brāhmanical reaction was to revive and re-establish the Brahmanic faith in the religious history of the country. As soon as Pushyamitra occupied the throne of Pāṭaliputra, he, as a pro-Brāhmanic, furthered the cause of Brāhmanism which became the most prominent religion in his kingdom. The followers of Buddhism did not accept heartily the way by which Pushyamitra overthrew the Maurya dynasty and became the ruler of Paṭaliputra which during the reign of the Maurya rulers, was a great centre of Buddhism. It is believed by some scholars that the Buddhist monks as well as laymen in the Punjab did not co-operate with Pushyamitra and they openly allied themselves with the Yavana invaders. Most probably this was the reason why Pushyamitra became furious with the Buddhist monks at Śākala in the Punjab and that is why he openly declared a price of 100 gold coins on the head of every Buddhist monk. The political motive was the cause of the merciless policy of Pushyamitra against the followers of Buddhism in the Punjab.[11] Thus K.D. Jayaswal observes : "The

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Bhāgavacchāsanaṃ nāçayishyāmīti kim icchatha stūpaṁ saṃghārāman vā bhikshubhiḥ parigṛihitāḥ yāvat Pushyamitro yāvat samghārāmam bhikshūmç ca praghātayan prasthitaḥ sa yāvacchākalam anuprāptaḥ tenābhihitaṃ yo me çramaṇaçiro dāsyati tasyāham dīnāraçatam dāsyāmi. Dharmarājika . . . . . çīro dātumārabdham. Çrutvā ca rājā arhatpraghātayitumārabdhaḥ. Sa ca nirodhaṃ samāpannaḥ. Tasya paropakasmo na kramate. Sa yatnamutsrijya yāvatkoshtakaṃ gataḥ.". . .DYVP, p. 282.

9. BCLV, part I, p. 215.
10. JBORS, X, 1824, p. 203; IHQ, VI, 1930, p. 24 :
    "Kosalādhipena dviraśvamedha yājinaḥ senāpateh
    Pushyam(i)trasya shashṭhena Kauśikiputrena Dhana
    . . .drarma-rājñ(a) pituḥ Phalgu devasya ketanaṃ kāritaṃ".
11. ACHI, p. 99; JBORS, 1918, p. 263.

political psychology explains the pitiless policy of the Śuṅga against Buddhism in the North. It is significant that it was at Śākala, the town and base of Menander, that Pushyamitra made his notorious declaration setting a price of 100 gold pieces on the head of every Buddhist monk. Buddhism was dealt with severely for having allied itself with the Greeks." E.B. Havell also offers a valuable suggestion with regard to Pushyamitra's inimical attitude towards the Buddhist fraternity. He concludes that Pushyamitra's animus was not against "Buddhism as a religion, but against the Saṅgha as a political power. . . .If, there is any truth in the Buddhist tradition, we may take it that some members of the Saṅgha were concerned in conspiracies against the Śuṅga dynasty," and "it was they who kindled the fire of wrath of the new sovereign."[12].

Most of the scholars are inclined to reject totally the Divyāvadāna tradition about the cruel persecution of Buddhism by Pushyamitra on the ground that the Buddhist remains at Bhārhut erected "during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas"[13] do not bear out the theory that the Śuṅgas, among whom Pushyamitra is included by the Puraṇas, were the leaders of a militant Brāhmanism. Sri N.N. Ghosh, however, argues that "the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhuti cannot exonerate Pushyamitra from the blame attributed to him by the Divyāvadāna, as this inscription does not belong to the reign of Pushyamitra".[14] According to V.A. Smith, "it would be rash to reject this tale (i.e., the semi-mythological stories of Buddhist writers) as wholely baseless, although it may be exaggerated".[15] But H.C. Raichaudhury observes in this connection that "though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism, kings of the line of Pushyamitra do not appear to have been as intolerant as some writers represent them to be".[16] These scholars further argue that Buddhism prospered in the Śuṅga period and Sāñchī, Bodh-Gayā, Sārnāth and Lauriya Nandangarh were important centres of Buddhism during the reign of the Śuṅga kings. Even the inscriptions of Bhārhut and Sāñchī refer to the gifts made by the royal householders as also the common people to the Buddhist monuments. But those scholars, who believe the account of persecution of Buddhism by Pushyamitra greatly patronised the revival of Brāhmanism and the gateway at Bhārhut was built not in his reign but during the reign of his successors who followed a more tolerant policy towards Buddhism and its followers than the former, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty and leader of the

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[12] HARI, p. 123; EMB, II, p. 256.

[13] BHI, p. 1 : "Suganaṃ raje raño Gagîputasa
Vīsadevasa pauteṇa Gotiputasa
Agarajusa puteṇa vāchiputena
Dhanabhūtina kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ
Silākammamto ca upaṃṇa." During the reign of the Śuṅgas, the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vatsiputra Dhanabhuti, son of Gotîputa, Āgaraju and grandson of king Gārgiputra Viśadeva".

[14] ACHI, pp. 99-100, f.n.

[15] FHI, p. 212.

[16] PHAI, p. 389.

Brāhmanic reaction.[17] They also hold the opinion that Pushyamitra founded a dynasty in about 187 B.C. and the gateways were constructed towards the close of the Śuṅga period.[18]

From the above facts we can surmise that in the reign of the pro-Brahmanic king, Pushyamitra, although the royal patronage was shifted to Brāhmanism, Buddhism neither suffered inconveniently due to loss of royal support nor it remained in isolation. It flourished equally with other religions including Brāhmanism which no doubt played a great role during this period. The Buddhists might have suffered in some cases due to political reasons, but apart from the Divyāvadāna legend, no corroborative evidence is available relating to the general persecution of Buddhism by Pushyamitra in his kingdom. It is doubtful whether Pushyamitra had indulged in a savage persecution of Buddhism, as a result of which it lost its popularity and suffered severely to the extent as indicated by the author of the Divyāvadāna. Even allowing for the exaggerations, if we accept the story of the persecution of Pushyamitra as depicted in the Divyāvadāna as credible, we can explain it in this sense that due to unseemly behaviour and diplomacy of the Buddhist monks, who acted against the Śuṅga dynasty, Buddhism in the reign of Pushyamitra did not receive the royal patronage which it had enjoyed in the regin of the Buddhist Emperor Aśoka and some of his successors. Practically it monopolised the patronage of the Great Maurya emperor Aśoka and it attained prominence as a distinct religion in the Maurya period. But because of the fault of the Buddhist monks, it had lost temporarily its lofty status in the reign of king Pushyamitra. In spite of all these facts Buddhism did not suffer seriously during his reign or that of his successors. The existence of several Buddhist buildings and monuments proves the prevalence of Buddhism in the dominion of Pushyamitra. The discovery of the Buddhist monuments of pre-christian era, the composition of the Buddhist works like the Milindapañha, Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu in the second or first century B.C. and the development of the Abhidhamma literature of the difierent schools of thought before or after the beginning of the christian era give us an idea about the prevalence and steady progress of Buddhism even in the reign of those kings who were ardent followers of Brāhmanism. The reference to the Piṭakas, the Svttanta and the Nikāyas on the railings, gateways of the Bhārhut stūpa proves that the Buddhist canon with its sub-divisions were sufficiently cultured and studied in the second or first century B.C.

PUSHYAMITRA'S SUCCESSORS

After a reign of thirty-six years (c. 187-151 B.C.) Pushyamitra died, and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra, who was a governor of the province of Vidiśā (or eastern Mālavā) during his father's reign.[19] He ruled only for eight years. The next three rulers who ascended the throne in succession after him were Jyeshtha (or Sujyeshtha), Vasumitra (or Sumitra), and Bhadraka (or Andhraka or Odruka). They ruled for nineteen years. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Vasumitra's successor was known as Bhadraka. The Vishṇu Purāṇa refers to him as Ārdraka and Odruka. According to the Vāyu Purāṇa, he is Āndhraka. The Matsya Purāṇa refers to him as Antaka. The fifth Śuṅga king has also been identified by scholars with Udāka, a name found in a Pabbosā inscription near Allahabad[20] This king ruled only for two years. An inscription refers to the excavation of a cave at Pabbosā near Allahabad by Āshāḍhasena, maternal uncle of king Bṛihatsvātīmitra (Bṛihaspatimitra). It states thus[21] : "By Āṣāḍhasena, the son of Gopāli Vaihidari and maternal uncle of king Bahaspatimitra (or Bṛihaspatimitra), son of Gopāli, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udāka for the use of the Kassapiya[22] Arhats". If the identification of Udāka with Bhadraka or Āndhraka, the fifth Śuṅga king, is accepted, it is then a clear evidence of the patronage of Buddhism by the people in the reign of the Śuṅga king Udāka and the popularity of the Kāśyapīya school in this region.

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[17] BCLV, part i, p. 215.
[18] Ibid., p. 217.
[19] ACHI, p. 100; AIU, p. 97.

Nothing in detail is known regarding the next three rulers[23] belonging to the Śuṅga family whose names have crept into the Purāṇic texts. Then Bhāgavate, the ninth king, ascended the throne of the Śuṅga empire in 114 B C. and he ruled for thirty-two years.[24] He has been identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with Mahārāja Bhāgavata mentioned in one of the Bhāgavata inscriptions found at Bhilsa in Madhya Bharat (Pradesh). The ninth king Bhāgavata Śuṅga is also identified by some scholars with Rājan Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra mentioned in another Bhāgavata inscription on the Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar two miles from Bhilsa. The inscription[25] speaks of the Garuḍadhvaja raised in honour of the god Vāsudeva or Vishṇu by a Greek devotee named Heliodoros, the son of Dion and an ambassador from the Greek king Antialkidas of Taxilā to Rājan (king) Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra,[26] 'who was prospering in his fourteenth regnal year'. This inscription is important from the historical point of view. It reveals friendly relations existing between the Bactrian-Greeks in the Punjab and the Śuṅgas, and also the pre-dominance of Vaisnavism and its influence upon the Bactrian-Greeks. The inscription also shows further that this Śuṅga king was definitely a powerful king. Because Antialkidas, the king of Taxilā, sent an envoy to the Śuṅga king to establish friendly relations with the latter. King Bhāgavata was succeeded by Devabhūti, who reigned for ten years. Although Devabhūti was the last king of the Śuṅga dynasty, the Śuṅga power was not altogether extinguished; it maintained its existence in Vidiśā in Central India till the arrival of the Andhras or the Sātavāhanas who hastened the downfall of the vestiges of the Śuṅga power.[27]

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[20] B.M. Barua says that "in the absence of the rājño preceding Udākasa, it is difficult to say ạt once whether Udaka is the personal name of a king or the local name of the place where the cave was excavated". . . .PHAI, p. 394, f.n. 1.

[21] EI, II, 1894, p. 242 : "I. Rājaño Gopālīputrasa
II. Vahasatimitrasa
III. Mātulena Gopālīyā
IV. Vaihidarīputrena
V. Āṣāḍhsenana lenam
VI. Kāritaṃ (udākasa) dasa
VII. Me savacchare Kassapīyānaṃ arahanaṃ
VIII. (ta) naṃ. . . ." PHAI, p. 393.

[22] BSI, pp. 185-186 : "The Kāśyapīya school was known by three other names, Sthavirīya, Saddharmavarşaka, or Suvarşaka. It issued out of the Sarvāstivādins on account of certain opinions, which were more in agreement with those of the Sthaviravādins or Vibhajyavādins than those of the Sarvāstivādins. This seems to be the cause of their being called a Sthavirīya. Its third name, Suvarşaka, appears in the works of Tāranātha and Ch'en lun, while Saddharmavarsaka in Bhavya's treatise.

About the literature of the Kāśyapīyas, Prof. Przyluski writes that it had a canon similar to that of the Dharmaguptas, and had the following divisions : Viniyapitaka. . . . Bhikşu-prātimokşa, Bhikşuṇī-prātimokşa, Kathina, Mātṛkā and Ekottara

Sutra-pitaka : Dīrgha-āgama, Madhyama-āgama, Ekottara-āgama, Saṃyukta-āgama and kşudraka-āgama

Abhidharma-pitaka : Sapraśnaka-vibhaṅga, Apraśnaka-vibhaṅga, Saṃgraha and comparative tables.

To the Kāśyapīyas Vasumitra attributes the following doctrines :
(1) Arhats have both kşayajñāna and anutpādajñāna, and are not subject to passions.
(2) Saṃskāras perish every moment.
(3) The past which has not produced its fruit exists, the present exists and some of the future exists. . . ."

[23] ACHI, p. 101,

During the reign of the Śuṅgas Buddhism continued to receive the patronage of the people as is evident from the close study of the inscriptions on the inner railings and gateways of the Buddhist stūpa at Bhārhut[28] in central India. Some of these inscriptions, which were probably engraved "during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas" i.e., in the second or first century B.C., refer to one Dhanabhūti, who, according to scholars,[29] was a contemporary of the Śuṅgas and probably one of their feudatories or vassals. But from the inscriptions it is not clear whether the ruling members of the Dhanabhūti dynasty, were feudatories of the Śuṅgas. The inscription No. 1 says : "within the dominion of the Śuṅgas (or the Śugas) the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vātsiputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputra Āgaju and grandson of king Gārgīputra Visvadeva".[30] The second inscription on a railbar describes : "the gift of Prince Vādhapāla (Vṛddhapāla), the son of king Dhanabhūti".[31] The third inscription on a rail-bar mentions : "the gift of Nāgarakṣitā, the wife of king Dhanabhūti".[32] These inscriptions testify to the flourishing condition of Buddhism and also inform us about the erection of its rail-bars on the railings and its gateways during the reign of the Śuṅgas which is a subject of great controversy so far as their patronage to Buddhism is concerned. It is clear from the inscriptions that Buddhism flourished under the patronage of the royal house and the people who belonged to Śuṅga dominion.

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[24] Ibid., p. 101; PHAI, p. 395.

[25] IG, p. 118, plate No. VI, p. 80 : Devadevasa Vā(sude)vasa Garuḍadhvaje aayṃ kārite i(a) Heliodoreṇa Bhāgavatena Diyasa putreṇa Takh-khasilakena yona-dūtena (ā)gatena mahārājasa Aṁtalilikitasa upa(ṁ)ta sakāsaṃ raño (ko)sipu(tra)sa (Bh)āgabhadrasa trātārasa vasena ca(tu) dasena rājena vadhamānasa. . . ."

The second part of the inscription :

"Trini amutapadāni (su)anuṭhitāni
Nayaṃti svaga dama chāga apramāda". . . .EHVS, pp. 99-100.

"The three immortal precepts, lit. steps to immortality, dama, chāga and apramāda, self-control, self-denial and watchfulness, mentioned in the second part of Heliodoro's inscription occur in the Mahābhārata (v. 43.22; XI, 7.23; Damas.tayāgo' pramadaśca te trayo Brahmaṇo hayāḥ, c.f. also Gita, XVI, i. 2.)". . . .PHAI, f.n., p. 395 c.f. Dhammapadam : Appamādo amatapadaṃ, pamādo maccuno padaṃ (2.1.).

[26] PHAI, p. 98; ACHI, p. 102; SI, p. 90; IG, p. 118.

[27] PHAI, p. 395; ACHI, p. 102.

[28] IA, XIV, 1885, p. 138 : Shārhut is in the Nagaudh (Nagoda) state in Baghelkhand about six miles to the north west from Uchahara (Uchera), the chief town of the state,

[29] Ibid., XIV, 1885, pp. 138 ff; XXI, 1892, pp. 235 ff,

There is an inscription which is known as the Mathurā Pillar inscription of Dhanabhūti II refers to the patronage of Buddhism by one Dhanabhūti. He was most probably a member of the Dhanabhūti dynasty. B.M. Barua observes : "Just a generation after, Dhanabuūti's grandon, king Dhanabhūti II dedicated, evidently following the tradition of his predecessors, the gift of a Buddhist gateway at Mathurā, which enables one to surmise that this royal dynasty continued to be in power for some generations after Dhanabhūti I, and that its seat of power was in Mathurā or a country near about".[33] The inscription states : " . . . the gift of Vātsīputra Vṛddhapāla Dhanabhūti (descendant) of Dhanabhūti . . . cubical seats, gateways and jewel-house, all for the worship of the Buddha, together with mother and father, together with four divisions (Buddhists)".[34] Thus these inscriptions furnish us with clear evidences of the prevalence of Buddhism during the Śuṅga period.

THE KĀṆVA DYNASTY

After the fall of the Śuṅgas, there appeared in Indian history a new dynasty known as the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty which ruled over Northern India for a period of about forty-five years. According to tradition, Devabhūti, the Śuṅga monarch, was murdered by a slave-girl at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva.[35] Who, after his murder, captured the throne and founded the Kāṇva dynasty in Magadha in c. 75 B.C[36] The Purāṇas refer to the Kāṇva kings as Śuṅgabhṛityas or servants of the Śuṅgas, probably because of their service in the administration of the Śuṅga kings. H.C. Raichaudhury observes : "It appears likely that when the princes of the Śuṅga family became weak, the Kāṅvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns.[37]

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[30] BHI, p. 1; BH, I, p. 41; IA, XXI, 1892, p. 227; PASB, 1880, p. 58.
Suganaṃ raje raño Gāgīputasa
Visadevasa pauteṇa Gotiputasa
Āgarajusa puteṇa vāchiputena
Dhanabhūtinā Kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ
silākammanto ca upaṃṇo.

[31] BHI, p. 30; BH, I, p. 42 : "Dhanabhūtino rājāno putasa kumārasa vādhapālasa dānaṃ".

[32] Ibid., p. 33; Ibid., p. 42 :
"(Dhanabhū)tisa raño bhāriyāya Nāgarakhitāya dānaṃ".

[33] BH, I, p. 42.

[34] BHI, p. 102 : "Kape. . . .Dhana
Bhūtisa. . . .vātsī putrasa (Vādhapā)lasa
Dhanabhūtisa dānaṃ vedikā toraṇāni ca ratanagṛha sava
Budhapujāya sahā mātāpitāni sahā catu (hi)parisāhi,"

It has been generally accepted that the Kāṇva kings ruled over Magadha only. But the Purāṇas describe them as "enjoying the allegiance of the feudatories".[38] During the reign of the Kāṇva dynasty most of the rulers in Northern India ruled independently. But it is difficult to say who were their feudatories and who showed their allegiance to them. H.C. Raychaudhuri opines that the later Kāṇvas were able to extend their territories to the Godāvarī and even further to the south.[39] The first ruler of the Kāṇva dynasty was Vāsudeva who founded about 75 B.C. a short-lived dynasty of four kings reigning only for forty-five years. Like their predecessors the Kāṇva kings were also Brāhmins.

We know very little of the history of Buddhism during the reign of the Kāṇva kings. But the establishment of various stūpas and monasteries in Bodh-Gayā, Bhārhut and Sāñchi in North India, Bhaja, Vidiśā (or Bedsā), Kaṇherī, Nāsik, Karle and Ajantā in western India during the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period (2nd-1st centuries B.C.) clearly prove that Buddhism prospered to a great extent under the patronage of kings, nobles and the common people.

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35. HC. p. 269; HCCT, VI, p. 193.
36. PHAI, p. 396; ACHI, p. 102; AIU, p. 98.
37. PHAI, p. 399.
38. DKA, p 35 : "ete pranata-samanta bhavishya dharmikasc̣hạ ye",
39. IC, VI, p. 412.

GENEALOGY

THE ŚUṄGA DYNASTY[40]

Pushyamitra
Agnimitra
Sujyestha or Vasujyestha
Vasumitra (Sumitra)
Āndhraka (Bhadraka, Odraka, Ārdraka, Antaka)
Pulindaka
Ghosha (or Ghoshavasu)
Vajramitra
Bhāgavata or Bhāga
Devabhūmi or Devabhūti

THE KĀṆVA DYNASTY[41]

Vāsudeva
Bhūmimitra
Nārāyaṇa
Suśarmaṇ

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[40] EHNI, p. 281; AIU, pp. 706-707.
[41] Ibid., p. 281; Ibid., p. 707.

FIVE

BUDDHISM UNDER THE INDO-GREEKS

THE SÁKAS AND THE PAHLAVAS (PARTHIANS)

THE INDO-GREEKS

After the death o Aśoka, the Maurya emperor, Magadha's political connection with the north-western part of India did not exist for a very long time. Because before the invasion of Antiochos, the king of Syria (B.C. 206), an Indian king named Subhagasena, founded an independent kingdom in the country of Gandhāra. From the second century B.C. North-western India gradually came under the rule of foreign powers and it lost its connections with other regions of India. After the fall of the Maurya empire we see the establishment of foreign powers in northern, western and central parts of India. The arrival of the Yavana or the Greek invaders through the north-western gate of India was a great landmark in the history of ancient India. The withdrawal of the strong arm of the great emperor Aśoka led to the collapse of the Maurya supremacy over Gandhāra and the adjoining provinces in north-western India. The provinces fell off one by one and the local princes declared their independence. The Greeks, who then ruled in Syria and Bactria, availed themselves of this opportunity. They invaded the empire across the north-western gates and established their settlements which came to be known as the Indo-Greek or Indo-Bactrian kingdoms.

After the loss of Bactria the Greeks ruled over central and southern Afghanistan and north-western India. In order to have control over these regions some princes who belonged to the houses of Euthydemos (and Demetrios) as well as Eukratides fought with each other. From the coins we know the names of thirty Indo-Bactrian Greek rulers who ruled over Afghanistan and north-western India. Of them Menander, who apparently belonged to the house of Demetrios, was regarded as the greatest and the most powerful ruler. A.K. Narain observes : "It is likely that it was the unsettled conditions of the time that produced a man of remarkable ability, who was destined to become the most famous of the Yavana kings in India; he was Menander, the Milinda of Indian tradition . . . (who perhaps) had some connection with Demetrios II and his family."[1]

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[1] IG, pp. 74 ff.

Menander extended his kingdom from the Kabul valley in the west to the Ravi in the east and from the Swat valley in the north to northern Arachosia in the south.[2] He even planned to recover Bactria and in this regard he helped Demetrios II against Parthia.[3] The extension of his dominions indicates that Indo-Greek power reached the zenith of glory during his reign. Plutarch refers to him as a Bactrian king.[4] According to Strabo, he was a Bactrian Greek king.[5]

MENANDER

Menander, the most famous of all the Greek kings of India, and, a man of great personality, found a prominent place not only in the writings of classical writers like Strabo and Plutarch, but, as a scholar and a lover of Buddhism, he was able to secure a place in Indian Buddhist tradition. He is immortalised in the history of Buddhism for his services rendered to its cause. He has been identified with the Buddhist king Milinda of the Milindapañha, "Questions of Milinda", a Pali work of the first century B.C., which was written in the form of a dialogue between Milinda, the Greek king of Śākala (Sialkot in the Punjab) and Nāgasena, a Buddhist monk. From their discussion on some problems of Buddhist metaphysics and philosophy it is known that king Milinda asked many questions and Nāgasena gave their reply. It is said the king was extremely happy after his conversation with the latter.[6] The Milindapañha says : "Milinda, the king, was filled with exceeding joy of heart; all pride of heart (in him) was suppressed; he was aware of the pith of the Buddha's Dispensation, confident in the three jewels, without confusion, without obduracy; and being exceedingly pleased with the special qualities of the Elder, and with his postures well befitting the going forth (into homelessness), trusting and without desires, conceit and arrogance humbled, he then, like a chief of snakes deprived of his fangs, spoke thus 'It is good, revered Nāgasena, questions relating to the Buddha's range have been answered by you; in this Buddha's Dispensation there is not another like you for answering questions except Elder Sāriputta, the General under Dhamma. Forgive me any transgressions of mine, revered Nāgasena. Accept me as a lay follower, revered Nāgasena, as one going for refuge from this day forth for as long as life lasts'.[7] The results of his talk with Nāgasena created a deep impression on his mind and

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[2] Ibid., p. 97.

. CASE, pp. 270-273.

[4] IG, p. 97; MLP, I, p. XXV.

[5] Ibid., p. 97; ibid., I, p. XXV; GS, XI, II, I.

[6] MLP, II, p. 304.

[7] Ibid., II, p. 304; MLPT, p. 420: "Milindo rājā ativiya pamuditahadayo sumathitamānahadayo Buddhasāsane sāramatino ratanattaye sunikkankko niggumbo nitthaddho hutvā therassa guṇesu pabbajja—supaṭipadā·iriyāpathesu ca ativiyo pasanno vissattho nirālayo nihatamānadappo uddhaṭadāṭho viya bhujagindo evam aha : sādhu sādhu bhante Nāgasena, Buddhavisayo pañho tayā vissajjito; imasmiṁ Buddhasāsane thapetvā dhammasenāpati-Sāriputtattheraṁ añño tayā sādiso pañhavissajjane na-athi. Khamatha me bhante Nāgasena mama accayaṁ. Upāsakaṁ mam bhante Nāgasena dhārettha, ajjatagge pāṇu-petaṁ saraṇam gatan ti."

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took keen interest in Buddhism. He became a devout Buddhist. Later he handed over his kingdom to his son and retired from the world. He not only became a Buddhist monk but attained Arhatship.[8] The Milindapañha[9] mentions that this monarch was born at the village of Kalaśi in the island of Alasanda or Alexandria and his capital was Sāgala or Śākala (modern Sialkot) in the Punjab. The Text says : "He (King Milinda) was wise, experienced, clever, able; he was one who acted conscientiously at the times of doing all the (magic) devices, ceremonies and observances concerning things past, future and present. Many were the arts he had mastered, that is to say : the revealed tradition, secular lore, the Sankhya, yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeśika systems, accountancy, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, the oral traditions, astronomy, conjuring, logic, spells, fighting, poetry, reckoning on the fingers, in a word, the nineteen arts. A disputant hard to equal, hard to overcome, he was acclaimed chief of the leaders of the numerous schools of thought. In the whole of India there was no one like king Milinda in fortitude, speeed, courage and wisdom. He was rich, of great wealth and great prosperity; his armed forces were without end."[10]

Although Menander's regnal years have not yet been settled with certainty, scholars generally place him in the second or first century B.C. V. Smith refers to his regnal years as about B.C. 160-140.[11] A.K. Narain states that he reigned between B.C. 155 and B.C. 130.[12] A. Von Gutschmid places him between B.C. 125 and 95.[13] A.L. Basham puts his date "at least two centuries earlier than the Periplus of the Erythraen Sea, a Greek text of the end of the first century A.D."[14] The Jinakālamālī, though a late work, assigned to the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D., which preserves older traditions, states : "Milinda was at Sāgala in India when Kutakannatissa was reigning in Anuradhapura."[15] The latter reigned in Anuradhapura in Ceylon from c. 16 to 38 A.D.[16] It is difficult to accept the tradition that Milinda and Kūṭaksṇṇatissa were contemporaries. Because Menander (Milinda) never reigned so late as king Kūṭakaṇṇatissa. The Milindapañha[17] records that Milinda flourished five hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. From this account it would be reasonable to conclude that Menander ruled in or about the first century B.C.

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[8] MLP, II, p. 305.

[9] Ibid., I, pp. 114-115.

[10] MLP, I, pp. 5-6; MLPT, pp 3-4 : "Tesu sāmaṇero Jambudīpa Sāgalanagare Milindo nāma rja ahosi, paṇḍito byatto medhāvī patibalo atītānāgata—paccuppannānaṁ samanta-yogavidhānakigiyānaṁ karaṇakāle nisammakārī hoti; bahūni c'assa satthāni uggahitāni honti, sayyathīdaṁ : suti sammuti sankhyā yoga nīti visesikā gaṇikā gandhabbā tikiccha catubbedā purāṇa itihāsā jotisā māyā hetu mantanā yuddhā chandasā muddā, vacanena ekūnavisati; vādī durāsado duppasaho, puthutitthakarānaṃ aggam—akkhāyati; Sakala-Jambudīpe Milindena raññā samo koci nāhosi, yad-idam thāmena javena sūriyena paññāya, aḍḍho mahaddhano mahābhogo anantabalavāhano."

[11] OHI, p. 124.

[12] IG, p. 181.

[13] GI, p. 104.

[14] WTWI, p. 221.

[15] JKM, p. 62.

[16] EZ, III, I, 1928, p. 7; EHBC, Appx., III; HBC, p. 309,

[17] MLP, I, p, 5,

Under Menander Buddhism was popularised in his kingdom. It is said that the king took keen interest in Buddhism and constructed a monastery named Milinda[18] and offered it to Nāgasena. The Shinkot steatite casket inscription,[19] found in the Bajaur tribal region about twenty miles to the north-west of the confluence of the Panjkora and the Swat rivers, refers to the patronage of Buddhism by the people during the reign of king Menander. It records "the establishment of the relic of the Buddha by one Vijayamitra during the reign of king Menander on the fourteenth day of the month of Kārtikaya."[20] This inscription gives an idea about Menander's rule over Peshawar and the upper Kabul valley and also informs us that Buddhism prospered to a great extent during the reign of Menander.

There is an unlimited field for speculation regarding Menander's conversion to Buddhism. According to W.W. Tarn,[21] "the idea that Menander ever became a Buddhist in the sense of entering the Order (Saṅgha) may be dismissed at once." He states further that the evidence of the Milindapañha does not give us an indication about Menander's acceptance of Buddhism as his religion but at the same time he agrees that no one can prove that Menander was not a Buddhist.[22] He does not accept the story of the Milindapañha[23] as trustworthy evidence regarding Menander, the Milinda of Buddhist tradition. According to him,[24] Menander never retired from the world and handed over his kingdom to his son. Because when the king died, his son was a minor prince and his wife at first ruled as Regent on behalf of her son. W.W. Tarn rejects the belief that Menander was as Buddhist on the ground that on his coins he adopted Athena, the one Greek deity who was practically never equated with anything oriental.'[25] But this view cannot be accepted in view of the fact that king Kanishka of the Kushāṇa dynasty, in spite of his deep attachment to Buddhism, also used on his coins many non-Buddhist figures.[26] But no one denies his alleged conversion to Buddhism. It is the same case with Menander, who adopted Buddhism as his personal faith. It is very probable that although he became a devout follower of Buddhism but because of his religious sentiment he used the figures of one deity of his former religion on his coin. It is also possible that in the time of Menander the Buddha-

[18] MLP. p. 305.

[19] SI, pp. 102 ff.

[20] NIA, II, 1939-40, p. 647; EI, XXIV, 1937-38, p. 7; SI. pp. 103-104 : "Minendrasa Maharajas Kaṭiyasa divasa 444 II praṇasameda (prati) (thavi) ta praṇa-same (da) (śarira) (Bhagava) (to) Śakamunisa vijayam (it)ra (pacara)...pate pradithavide. 2

[21] GBI, p. 268.

[22] Ibid., pp. 268-269.

[23] MLP, II, p. 305.

[24] GBI, p. 268.

[25] Ibid., pp. 268-269; IG, p. 98,

[26] Ibid., p. 98,

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image had not developed.[27] But some coins of Menander found in several places were associated with the figure of the 'wheel' which was so common on Buddhist sculpture.[28] Thus the numismatic evidence indicates that Menander was closely associated with Buddhism. W.W. Tarn[29] says that in order to proclaim himself as a 'Cakravartin' or 'the Universal or the Supreme Ruler', he used the symbol of the wheel and it is nothing to do with Buddhism. S. Chattopadhyaya does not agree with W.W. Tarn regarding Menander as a non-Buddhist. He remarks that "such strong traditions cannot be set aside lightly, and in our view it is quite safe to hold that Menander had embraced Buddhism and did much for it."[30]

Some scholars maintain that Menander, who was a later contemporary of Pushyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, adopted Buddhism because of political reason. In order to win over the Buddhist subjects to his side against his war with Pushyamitra, he adopted Buddhism as his religion.[31] Some coins with Manander's title 'soter' 'the Saviour' have been discovered.[32] The inscription, found at Barngaza (Broach) in western India, says "(the coins) of king Menander, the saviour."[33] W.W. Tarn[34] remarks "I see no reason for supposing that on Menander's coins it referred to the Buddhist Dhamma. To Indians it would indeed signify that, like Demetrios he was a Dharmarāja or King of Justice, but was not specifically Buddhist." It is believed that he saved the Buddhists from the humiliation of Pushyamitra and that is why he got the title 'the Saviour' of Buddhism.[35] But there is no substantial evidence to prove that Pushyamitra persecuted the Buddhists and Menander saved them from persecution. This view cannot be accepted when we consider the chronological position of the two rulers. Probably Menander played a prominent role in the religious history of the country during his reign. For his important cantribution to the Buddhist world, he earned the title the 'Saviour'.

Plutarch, the Greek historian, states[36] that when Menander died 'the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all their cities.' It reminds us of the story of the distribution of Gautama Buddha's relics after his Mahāparinibbāna as vividly described in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. It indicates that he was celebrated as a just ruler and

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27. BEFEO, XXV, 1925, p. 112; XXX, 1931, p. 448.
28. TX, I, pp. 33-34.
29. GBI, p. 263; IG, p. 98.
30. EHNI, p. 41.
31. IG, p. 98; GBI, p. 99; TX, I, p. 33.
32. Ibid., p. 99; ibid., pp. 173 and 262.
33. SI, I, p. 106 : "Mahārājasya trātu Maindrasya"—Inscription on silver coins of Menander.
34. GBI, p. 263.
35. Ibid., p. 175; IG, p. 99,
36. PL, 321, D-E.

he acquired such a widespread reputation that after his death he was honoured with magnificent obsequies.

On the strong basis of all these facts we shall not perhaps be far from the truth if we surmise that Menander was true follower of Buddhism and extended his patronage to the cause of Buddhism which flourished in his kingdom. Probably for his contribution to Buddhism and his pious activities he became known as Dharmarāja; but W.W. Tarn refuses to accept him as a Buddhist and pay any importance to the services rendered by him to the progress of Buddhism. There is a tradition[37] that Menander was responsible for the origin of the famous status of the Emerald Buddha in Indo-China, which was made by Nāgasena, the famous Buddhist monk and teacher of Menander, through his supernatural power from a magic emerald.

After the death of Menander the glory and the power of his kingdom began to diminish. His successors were not able to control all their territories. They lost Afghanistan and Gandhāra.[38] Agathocleia and Strato I maintained their influence only over the Eastern Punjab.[39] Towards the close of the first century B.C. the Śakas of East Iran occupied several parts of western India. Gandhāra and Afghanistan came under the control of the Eucratidian house.[40] Amyutas and Hermaeus, the two members of another branch of the Eucratidian house, appear to have held sway over Kafiristan and Kabul.[41] Hermaeus reigned in the first half of the first century A.D. He was the last Greek king of the Kabul valley and the Kushāna chief Kujula Kadphises was responsible for the final destruction of the kingdom of Hermaeus.[42]

The rule of the Indo-Greek kings marks an important epoch in the history of Buddhism in India. Menander, the great champion of Buddhism, carried out his vigorous religious activities to make it popular throughout his kingdom. It was due to the adoption of Buddhism as the religion of his faith, the Greeks showed their great devotion to Buddhism and patronised it heartily. Agathocles, the Greek ruler, used the figure of the Buddhist stupa and the Bodhi tree on his coins.[43] He also adopted the title 'soter' 'the Saviour.'[44] His coins indicate that he was a pious Buddhist. Next to Menander, he played an important role in the propagation of Buddhism in his kingdom. It was for this reason he earned the title the 'Soter', a term which should be used here not in the sense of saviour but in the sense of the promoter of Buddhism.

37. BEFED, XXV, p. 448.
38. AIU. p. 117.
39. Ibid., p. 117.
40. Ibid., p. 118.
41. Ibid., p. 118.
42. ACHI, II, p. 183.
43. Ibid., II, p. 365.
44, GBI, p. 263.

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The patronage of Buddhism during the rule of the Indo-Greek rulers becomes evident from a number of inscriptions which refer to the donations of the Greeks who appear to have been Buddhists. The inscription of Theodorus, the Meridarch, found in Swat, describes the restoration of some relics of the Buddha for the purpose of the security of many people.[45] Another inscription, found in the Kaldarra Nadī near Dargai to the south of the Malakand Pass in Swat records[46] that "by Thaidora or Theodorus the Datiaputra, (this) tank was caused to be made in honour of all beings, in the 113 year on the 20th day of Śrāvana." According to Sten Konow, Thaidora of the Kalidarra inscription probably was a descendant of the Meridarch, and both the inscriptions were found in Swat.[47] But the words 'Sarvasapaṇa puyae' of the inscription of Thaidora, the Datiaputra, has been translated by some scholars as 'for the worship of all snakes'.[48] But Luders[49] remarks that the word 'Sapaṇa' does not represent Sanskrit 'Sarpānāṃ' but 'sattavānām'—a theory which has been accepted by some scholars.[50] Because this very word 'Sarvasapaṇa' is mentioned in the Ārā inscription of the year 41.[51] It refers to Sarva (sapa)na jatish (u) (hi)tae, where it is difficult to accept the word 'sarpa', because 'such a devout care for the welfare of snakes in their various rebirths would not be immediately intelligible.'[52] Buhler instead of taking the word 'Thaidorona', took 'Thai Norena' and translated it as the 'Thera Nora'. According to him, Thai which is an abbreviation of Thairena (in Sanskrit Sthavirena) is separated from the name Nora by a considerable interval, and it appears as a word by itself.[53] But he has not received any support from any other source and so his view has not been accepted by any other scholar. Although there is no reference to Buddhism in the inscription of Thaidora Datiaputra, but from the dedication of a tank 'in honour of all beings', which is said to be a common Buddhist formula and sounds like a Buddhist idea, one can conclude that Thaidora, the donor of this tank, was a devout patron of Buddhism.

There are several inscriptions which refer to the patronage of Buddhism by the Greek people. The inscription No. 364 found at Sāñchi Stūpa[54] states the gift of the Setapathiya yona. It is not dated. O. Stein[55] believes that the word 'yona' was the personal name of the donor who was known as the Yona from Setapatha.

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[45] CII, II, part I, p. 65.

[46] Ibid., II, part I, p. 66:
"Datiaputrena Thaidorena pukaraṇi karavita sarvasapana puyae vash(e) 1 100 10 111 śravanasa 20."

[47] CII, II, part I, p. 65.

[48] IA, XXV, 1896, p. 141; JNA, 9th series, XIII, 1899, p. 533; AD, II, 1924, p. 298.

[49] JRASGB, 1909, p. 652.

[50] EI, IX, p. 147.

[51] CII, II, part I, p. 165.

[52] Ibid., II, part I, p. 65.

[53] IA, XXV, 1896, p. 141.

[54] EI, II, 1894, p. 395.

[55] IC, I, 1934-35, p. 344.

But nothing is known from this inscription about his nationality. It has already been accepted that a person from Greece or from the land of the Greeks was called a Yavana or a Yona. We shall not perhaps be unjustified if we infer that this gift of the Setapathiya Yona was the gift of a person from Setapatha who was a Yavana or Greek by birth and who embraced Buddhism and settled down in India. Probably he had a personal name but because of his foreign origin he was known to the Indian people as 'Yona'.

The caitya (cetiya) hall of the famous Buddhist temple of Karle, which, according to archaeologists,[56] belonged to the first century B.C., was the place where many inscriptions with the word 'Yavana' were found. The inscription[57] No. 10 mentions "(gift) of Dhamma, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭā." E. Senart[58] while explains the term 'Dhamma Yavana' comments that the donor was a Buddhist Yavana who had suppressed his personal name. O. Stein[59] remarks that the donor was called Dhammayavana because he was a Yavana by birth and had received this new name after his conversion to Buddhism. He also further suggests that he was known as Dhammayavana to his Indian friends as most probably he had not yet received his Indian name. As the word 'Yavana' is generally applied to the foreign conquerors like the Greeks, we can come to the conclusion that the donor of the inscription was a Yavana or a Greek who was a follower of Buddhism. From his donation to the famous Buddhist establishment it is quite clear that this Greek votary after his conversion to Buddhism, patronised the religion and did something for its progress. The inscription No. 7 found at Karle[60] states "(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhenukākaṭā." The inscription No. 4 discovered at Karle[61] contains the words "(this) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Dhammadhaya from Dhenukākaṭā." Another inscription unearthed at Karle[62] refers to "(this) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Yasavedhana from Dhenukākaṭā." All these inscriptions indicate that the Yavanas who were greatly influenced by Buddhism were wealthy people and dedicated large donations to Buddhist establishments. These inscriptions give the name of the place Dhenukākaṭā from where all donors came. This place has not yet been identified. But it is quite clear that it was a town of the Yavana people and was a great centre of Buddhist culture and activities. There are several other inscriptions which speak of the donations of the Yavaṇas to the Buddhist Saṅgha. The inscription No. 5 found at Junnar in the Poona (Pune) district[63] says that a Yavana gives two cisterns for the monks at his expense at Junnar. The inscription

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[56] CHI, I, p. 637; IC, I, p. 344.

[57] EI, VII, 1902-3, p. 55 : "Dhenukākaṭā Dhamma-Yavanasa. . . ."

[58] Ibid., VII, 1902-3, p. 56.

[59] IC, I, 1934-1935, p. 347.

[60] EI, VII, 1902-1903, p. 53 : "Dhenukākaṭā Yavanasa Sihadhayana(m) thambo dānaṁ".

[61] Ibid., XVIII, p. 326 : "Dhenukākaṭā Ya(va)nasa Dhamadhayanam thabo dānaṁ".

[62] Ibid., XVIII, p. 328 : "Dhenukākaṭā Yavanasa Yasavadhānam thabo dānaṁ".

[63] GBI, p. 255, ACHI, p. 365.

No. 8 of Junnar mentions the construction of a dining-hall at Junna by a Yavana for the Buddhist Saṅgha.[64] The inscription No. 16 discovered also at Junnar[65] states the erection of a hall-front at Junnar by a Yavana for the use of the Buddhist Saṅgha. It is evident from all these epigraphic records that Buddhism was patronised by the Yavana or the Greek people. From a large number of donations offered to the Buddhist establishments at different places by the Yavanas, it appears in our mind that Buddhism during the rule of the Indo-Greek rulers became one of the most prominent religions in India and it gradually developed from a monastic religion into a popular faith. That is why it was able to win the hearts of the Yavanas whose important contributions paved the way for the great progress made by Buddhism during the reign of the Indo-Greek rulers.

THE ŚAKAS

The Śakas (Scythians),[66] who were displaced from their original home in Central Asia by the Yueh-Chi, were forced to migrate to several places in the south in very early times and they gradually founded various settlements in different regions of ancient India. They extended their sway to the northern and north-western parts of India at the expense of the Indo-Greek rulers. The centre of the Śaka imperial power was in the North-West India which was ruled by the great king Maues-Moga and his successors Azes, Azilses and Azes II.

THE ŚAKA EMPERORS

Maues (c. 20 B.C.-22 A.D.), who was known from his coins and inscriptions, was the earliest independent Scythian (or Śaka) king of Indo-Scythia, a country of the lower Indus or Sind. Sten Konow remarks : "It is not necessary to assume that Maues whose coins only have been found in the Punjab was the first Śaka conqueror in India. It is more probable that he had predecessors in the Indus country, and, if we can trust the Kālakāchāryakathānaka, these predecessors used the imperial title 'king of kings'. In other words, Maues was not the first to introduce the title in India, and his coin-legends may be interpreted as indicating that he did not do so from the very beginning of his reign."[67] The Śaka empire under Maues was able to extend its sway over Taxilā, Hāzārā district and large parts of north-western India. The discovery of old Kharoshṭhī inscriptions at Pathyar and Kanhiāra in Kāngra, at Karnāl and at Mathurā possibly indicates the acknowledgement of Śaka suzerainty in these districts.[68]

Maues had been identified by several scholars like H C. Raychaudhuri,[69]

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[64] Ibid., p. 255; Ibid., p. 365.

[65] Ibid., p. 255.

[66] AIU, p. 120; AAHI, p. 118; ACHI, II, p. 186.

[67] CII, II, part I, p. XXXI.

[68] Ibid., II, part I, p. XXXII; AIU, pp. 125-126.

[69] PHAI, p. 438.

P.N. Banerjee,[70] D.C. Sircar,[71] and S. Chattopadhyaya[72] with Mahārāja Moga of the Taxila copper plate inscription of Patika, dated in the year 78 possibly of the Śaka era[73] which was used only in northern India and the borderland by the Śakas when they conquered these regions after 129 B.C. Because of the occupation of Ki-pin or Kāpiśa-Gandhāra by Yin-mo-fou, the Śaka-Muruṇḍa ruler in 48-33 B.C. and of the transference of power of Taxila and Minnagara, the capital of the Śaka kingdom in the Indus valley into the hands of the Parthians in the middle of the first century A.D., it may be assumed that Maues came to the throne after 33 B.C. before the latter half of the first century A.D.[74] It is very probable that Maues ruled between 20 B.C. and 22 A.D.[75]

The Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika is important from the religious point of view. It records the deposition of a relic of Śākyamuni (the Buddha) and the construction of a Saṅghārāma or monastery at Chhema (Kshema) to the north-east of Taxila, which has been identified by A. Cunningham with the modern Sirsukh.[76] The inscription[77] says : "In the seventy-eighth year—78—of the great king, great Moga on the fifth—5—day of the month Panema—on the (lunar day, specified as) above—of the Chhahara and Chukhasa Satrap—Liaka Kusuluka (is his) name—of him the son (is) Patika. To the north of the town of Takhasila, the eastern region (bears) the name Chhema—in this place Patika establishes a (formerly) not established relic of divine Śakamuni (Śākyamuni) and a monastery, for the worship of all Buddhas,—worshipping his mother and father—for the increase of the length of the life and the power of Satrap, who is associated with his sons and wives,—worshipping both all his brothers and his blood-relations and connections. The victory of the great gift-lord Patika is described by Rohiṇimitra, who is the overseer of the works in the monastery of Patika, the Satrap Liaka" The obverse sides of some of Maues's coins bear figures of some of the deities which are non-Greek in character. "Among (them) can be recognised one or two Indian deities, such as Śiva, undoubtedly, and Buddha possibly."[78] Thus the Taxila copper-plate and Maues's coins clearly prove that Buddhism flourished in the Taxilā-Gandhāra region under the patronage of the royal house.

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[70] ACHI, p. 195.
[71] AIU, pp. 124 ff.
[72] EHNI, p. 57.
[73] PHAI, pp. 438-439 : The Saka era of 58 B.C.
[74] Ibid., p. 439.
[75] EHNI, p. 57.
[76] EI, IV, 1896-97, p. 55 : A... obverse :

1. (Samvatasa) raya athasatatimae 20 20 20 10 4 4 maharayasa mahamtasa
   (Mo) gasa pa (...emasa) masasa
   divase pamchame 4 etaye purvaye chhahara
2. Chukhṣasa cha chhatrapasa Liako
   Kusuluko nama tasa putro pa (ti)
   Takhasilaye nagare utarena prachu
   deso chhema nama atra
3. se Patiko apratithanto bhagavata-
   Śakamunisa sariraṃ (ti) tha (vetisaṁ)
   gharamaṁ cha sarva-Budhana puyae matapitaram puyaya(mto)
4. Chhatrapasa saputradarasa ayubala-vardhie bhratara sarva (cha
   natiga) dhavasa cha puyayamto mahadanapati Patikasa Jau va(ñ ae)
5. Rohiṇimitrena ya ima(hi) saṃgharama navakamika

   B... Reverse

6. Patikasa Chhatrapa Liaka.

[77] ACHI, II, p. 199.

Maues was succeeded by Azes I (or Aya) (c. 5 B.C.-30 A.D.). It is said that he came from eastern Iran and was a member of a different family.[79] He brought the end of the Greek rule in the eastern Punjab by capturing the kingdom of Hippostratos.[79] He also conquered the Jumna valley.[80] He seems to have ruled in the Puṣkalāvatī region and his coins were found in the Kabul valley.[81]

Azilises (Ayilisha) (c 21-40 A.D.) occupied the throne after Azes I. His coins of the "Zeus enthroned type" and "Zeus standing with Mt. Pilusara" which were issued from Kāpiśa indicate that he ruled over Kāpiśa. Possibly the Greek ruler of the Kabul valley accepted his suzerainty.[82]

Azilises was succeeded by Azes (Aya or Aja) II (c. 35-79 A.D.).[83] Two inscriptions, the Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134[84] (77 A.D.) and the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 (78 A.D.)[85] record the names of Aja and Aya, which, according to D.C. Sircar, are both Indian forms of the name Azes and he was Azes II. The Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134 found at Kalawan near ancient Takshaśilā (Taxilā) is an important source of evidence to suggest that Buddhism was practised and patronised by the people in the time of Ajasa (Azes). It records : "In the year 134 of Ajasa, on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śrāvaṇa, at this term the female worshipper (upāsikā) Chandrābhī, daughter of the householder (gṛihapati) Dharmā, wife of Bhadrapāla, establishes relics in Chhaḍaśila, in the chapel-stūpa, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Śachitta and her daughter Dharmā, with her daughters-in-law Rājā and Indra, with Jivanandin, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings; may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa."[86] The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136,

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78. EHNI, p. 57.
79. PHAI, p. 440.
80. JRASGB, 1947, p. 22.
81. EHNI, p. 59.
82. EHNI, p. 59.
83. Ibid., p. 59.
84. EI, XXI, p. 259.
85. CII, II, part I, p. 77.
86. EI, XXI, 1931-32, p. 259 :

L. 1. "Saṁvatsaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa
śravaṇasa masasa divase traviśe 20 III
imeṇa kshuṇeṇa chaṃdrabhi naṣia

(*contd. on next page*)

found in one of the chambers to the west of the Dharmarājika stūpa of the Chir Mound in Taxilā, also throws light on the progress of Buddhism in the time of Aya-Aja or Azes. It shows that the people took keen interest in the religion of the Buddha which undoubtedly became the most popular religion during the Scythian rule in Northern India. It describes : "Anno 136 of Aya, on the 15th day of the first month Āshāḍha, on this day were established relics of the Lord by Urasaka, of the Imtavhria boys, the Bactrian, the resident of the town of Noacha. By him these relics of the Lord were established in his own Bodhisattva chapel, in the Dharmarājika compound of Takshaśilā, for the bestowal of health on the Great king, the king of kings, the son of Heaven, the Kushāṇa, in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of the Pratyakabuddhas,[87] in honour of the Arhata,[88] in

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L. II. Dhrammasa grahavatisa dhita Bhadravalasa
bhaya chhaḍaśilae sarira praistaveti gahathu-
L. III. bami sadha bhraduna Namdivadhaneṇa
grahavatina sadhaputrehi samena saitena cha dhituṇa
L. IV. Dhramae sadha shnushaehi Rajae Indrae ya sadha
livanamdina Śamaputreṇa ayariene ya sa(r)vasti
L. V. Vaana parigraha raṭhanikamo
puyaita sarvas(v)atvana puyae nivanasa pratiae hotu."

87. DPPN? II, 1938, pp. 94-98 : The Pacceka Buddha or Pratyeka Buddha : "In the Buddhist text, the Puggalapaññatti, the Pacceka or the Partyeka Buddha is described as one who understands the Truth by his own efforts, but does not obtain omniscience nor mastery over the Fruits (phalosu vasībhāvaṃ). A Pacceka Buddha practices ten perfections (pāramitā) for two asaṅkheyyas and one hundred thousand kappas or kalpas.

The name Pacceka Buddha given to one who is enlightened by and for himself, i.e., one who has attained to supreme and perfect insight, but who dies without proclaiming the truth to the world... hence the equivalent 'Silent Buddha' sometimes found in translations. Pacceka Buddhas practise their pārami for at least two thousand asaṁkheyya kappas. They are born in any of the three kulas : brāhmaṇa, Khattiya or gahapati only in a vivattamāna kappa during which Buddhas are also born, but they never meet a Buddha face to face. They cannot instruct others; their realization of the Dhamma is "like a dream seen by a deaf mute." They attain to all the iddhi, samāpatti and patisambhidā of the Buddha, but are second to the Buddhas in their spiritual development. They do ordain others; their admonition is only in reference to good and proper conduct (abhisamācārikasikkhā). Sometimes it is stated that a Pacceka Buddha's knowledge and comprehansion of ways and means is less than that of a Bodhisattva. They hold their uposatha in the Ratnamālaka, at the foot of the Mañjūsarukkha in the Gandhamādana. It is possible to become a Pacceka Buddha while yet a layman, but, in this case, the marks of a layman immediately disappear. Three caves in the Nandamūlakapabbhāra-Suvaṇṇaguhā, Maniguhā and Rajataguhā... are the dwelling places of Pacceka Buddhas. Round the Ratanamālaka, seats are always ready to receive Pacceka Buddhas. When a Pacceka Buddha appears in the world, he immediately seeks the Ratanamalaka and there takes his appointed seat. Then all the other Pacceka Buddhas in the world assemble there to meet him, and, in reply to a question by the chief of them, he relates the circumstances which led to his enlightenment. Similarly, all the Pacceka Buddhas assembled at the same spot when one of them is about to die. The dying one takes leave of the others, and after his death, they cremate his body and his relics disappear. But, according to another account, they die on the mountain called Mahāpapāta. There does not seem to be any limit to the number of Pacceka Buddhas who could appear simultaneously. In one instance, five

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honour of all beings, in honour of mother and father, in honour of friends, ministers, kinsmen and blood-relations, for the bestowal of health upon himself. May this thy right munificence lead to Nirvāṇa."[89]

THE ŚAKA SATRAPS

The word 'Satrap',[90] which generally means a provincial governor or 'protector of the kingdom', is derived from Sanskrit Kshatrapa (Prakrit Chhatrava, Chhatrapa) and in old-Persian it is used as Kshathrapāvan. During the period of the Śaka rulers there are many references to Satraps or Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas, Great Satrapas. From the inscriptions and coins we learn that several Satrap rulers ruled over different parts of the country. "One of these Satrapal families ruled in Kāpiśa near the junction of the Ghorband and Panjshir rivers in Afghanistan, another near Taxilā in the Western Punjab, a third at Mathurā in the Jumnā valley, a fourth in the upper Deccan and a fifth at Ujjain in Mālwa."[91]

Liaka Kusulaka,[92] a Satrap of the Kshaharāta family, probably as a viceroy of Moga (Maues) in the year 78 (21 or 22 A.D.) ruled over Chuksha, which according to Sten Konow, is the present Chach in the north of the district of Attock. The Taxila Copper-plate inscription of the year 78 refers to the Satrap

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hundred are mentioned as so doing, all sons of Padmāvati at the head of whom was Mahāpadma. In the Isigilli sutta appears a long list of Pacceka Buddhas who dwelt on the Isigilli Mountain, and after whom the mountain was named. According to Buddha-ghosha, the names in the list belonged to the five hundred sons of Padumavati; but the number of the names is far less than five hundred. This discrepancy is explained by saying that as many as twelve bore the same name. Other names are found scattered over different texts, such as the Jātakaṭṭhakathā. Among the teachings preserved of the Pacceka Buddhas, the most important is the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta."

[88] DPPN, II, p. 67 : The ideal personage in Hinayāna Buddhism, fourth and last stage in religious development... Sotāpatti, sakadāgāmi, anāgāmi and arhat.

[89] CII, II, part I, p. 77 :

L. I. Sa I 100 20 10 4 II aya sa ashadasa masasa divase 10 41.
iśa diva (se pradi) stavita bhagavato dhatu (O) Ura (sa).
L. II. Keṇa (Im) tavhriaputrana Bahalieṇa Ṇoachae nagara vastaveṇa Tena
imperadistavita bhagavoto dhatuno dhamara
L. III. ie Takshaśi(la)s taṇuvae bosi(dhi)
satvagahami maharajasa rajatirajasa
devaputrasa khushaṇasa arogadakshiṇae
L. IV. sarva(bu)dhaṇa puyae prach(e)
gabudhaṇa puyae araha(ta)ṇa pu(ya) e
sarvasa(tva) na puyae mata pitu
puyae mitramachañatisa—
L. V. Lohi(ta)ṇa (pu)yae atvaṇo
arogadakshinae Nivaṇae hotu a (ya)
da samaparichago."

[90] AIU, p. 132; PAAI, p. 443.

[91] PHAI, p. 443; AAHI, pp. 118-119.

[92] PHAI, p. 444; CII, II, part I, pp. 25-26; AIU, p. 133; EHNI, p. 61,

Liaka Kusulaka and his son Mahādānapati Patika,[93] who has been described as Mahākshatrapa or Great Satrap in another inscription. The Taxila Copper-plate inscription throws light on the progress of Buddhism during the rule of the Satraps of Taxila. It records that "... to the north of the town of Takhaśilā, the eastern region (bears) the name Chhama .... in this place Patika establishes a (formerly) not established relic of divine Sakamuni (Śākyamuni) and a monastery for the worship of all Buddhas. ..."[94]

The inscription mentioned above refers to all Buddhas. According to Buddhist tradition, there were twenty-four Buddhas, viz., Dipankara, Kondañña, Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassin (or Anomadassī), Paduma, Nārada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassin (or Piyadassī), Atthadassin (or Atthadassī), Dhammadassin (or Dhammadassī), Siddhattha, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassin), (or Vipassī. Sikhin, Vessabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa. "Countless Kalpas ago, four enlightened leaders and conquerors they were, Taṅhaṅkara, Medhaṅkara, Saranaṅkara and Dīpaṅkara were born in the same kalpa. After Dipaṅkara the leader Kondañña was born. He alone saved many people in one kalpa. The kalpas that passed between the time of the Blessed Dipaṅkara and the teacher Kondañña were countless. After Kondañña, the leader Maṅgala was born. The kalpas which passed between them were also countless. The sages and Buddhas Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita, too, were born in the same kalpa. They were men of vision and radiant. After Sobhita, the highly renowned Anomadassin was born. The kalpas which passed between them were countless. The leaders and Buddhas, Anomadassin, Paduma and Nārada, too, were born in the same kalpa. They were sages and end-makers of darkness. After Nārada, the leader Padumuttara appeared in one kalpa and saved many people. The Kalpas which passed from the time of the Blessed Nārada and the teacher Padumuttara were countless. During one hundred thousand kalpas there was born the great sage Padumuttara, who knew the world and was worthy of accepting the offerings. During thirty thousand kalpas after Padumuttara there were born two leaders, Sumedha and Sujāta. Eighteen hundred kalpas ago three leaders, Atthadassin, Dhammadassin and Piyadassin were born. After Sujāta were born in the same kalpa, were Enlightened ones who were the best bipeds and matchless in the world. Ninety-four kalpas ago there was born a great sage named Siddhattha, knower of the Universe, surgeon incomparable. Ninety-two kalpas ago there were born two leaders, Tissa and Phussa, enlightend, unequalled and unrivalled. Ninety-one kalpas ago the leader Vipassin was born. That Buddha, too, was compassionate and set beings free from bondage. Thirty-one kalpas ago were born two leaders, Sikhin and Vessabhu, also unequalled and unrivalled. During the best part of this kalpa were born three leaders, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa. Now I (Gotama) am the

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[93] EI, IV, 1896-97, pp. 55-56.

[94] Ibid., IV, 1896-97, p. 55 : "...Takhaśilaye nagare utareṇa prachu deśo chhema nama atra se Patiko apratiṭhanta, bhagavata-Śakamunisa śariram (ti)tha (veti saṁ) gharamaṁ cha ṣarva-Bupdhaua nyaẹ..."

Enlightened one . . . . "[95] Most probably, the Taxilā Copper-plate inscription refers here to four Buddhas, viz., Kakusandha (Krakuschanda), Koṇāgamana (Koṇākamuni), Kassapa and Gotoma. It may be mentioned in this connection that a thūpa or stūpa, erected on the spot, where Koṇāgrmana was born, is thought to have existed down to the time of Aśoka, who rebuilt it to double its original size and worshipped it in his twentieth year.[96]

Among the Satrap rulers in North India, Satraps of Mahurā became very prominent in the political history of ancient India. At first they were subordinate rulers but afterwards they became independent and took the title of Mahākshatrapa.[97] It is generally believed that for the suppression of the progress of the Sātavāhana power which had already established its centre in the Mālvā country, the Mathurā Satrapy was formed.[98]

Hagāna and Hagāmasha[99] seem to have been the earliest rulers of Mathurā. Rājuvula,[100] who ruled over Śākala in the Punjab in his early life succeeded them. J. Allen[101] thinks that he captured the power of Mathurā in the later period of his life. An inscription[102] found at Mora near Mathurā refers to him as Mahākshatrapa. It is generally agreed that at first he, as a Satrap, and afterwards as a Mahākshatrapa, ruled jointly with his son Śoṇḍāsa (or Śuḍasa or Śodāsa) who was a Satrap at that time. The latter, after the death of his father, adopted the title of Mahākshatrapa.[103] Rājuvula is referred to as 'the king of kings, the Saviour' in the Greek legends of the billion coins but it is to be noted that on the reverse he is mentioned as Satrap with the title of 'Apraticakra'.[104] We do not know much about the Satraps of Mathurā after Śoḍāsa's death. It is generally believed that the Kushāṇa king Kanishka at the beginning of his career overthrew this dynasty.

There is epigraphic evidence to show that Buddhism flourished in Mathurā during the rule of Rājuvula (or Rājula). The Mathura lion-capital inscriptions give us some useful information about the flourishing condition of Buddhism which received patronage of the royal house belonging to the Satrapal family ruling at Mathurā. The inscription records : "By the chief queen of the Great Satrap Rājula, daughter of Āyasi, Komūsā, mother of the hair apparent Kharaosto, Nandasi-Akasā (by name), together with her mother Abūholā, her paternal grandmother Pispasi, her brother Haynarā, her daughter Haha, her

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95. MAPC, part III, pp. 85-86.
96. Ibid., part III, pp, 82-83; DPPN, I, pp. 470-471; MHVU, I, 144, II, pp. 265 ff, III, 240, 330; DVY, p. 333.
97. EHNI, p. 61; AIU, p. 135.
98. EHNI, p. 61; AGT, I, p. 55.
99. EHNI, p. 61; PHAI, p. 445.
100. Ibid., p. 62; ibid., p. 445; AIU, p. 134.
101. CICAA, p. CXV.
102. EI, IX, p. 141; PHAI, pp. 445-446.
103. PHAI, p. 446; AIU, p. 134; EHNI, p. 62.
104. CISK, p. 26.

household and court of horakas (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a stūpa with the thought : 'May it be for the eternal . . . . of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha.' And the stūpa and the monastery are the acceptance of the Universal Saṅgha of the Sarvāstivādins.''[105] The Mathura Lion-capital inscriptions record the progress of Buddhism under the patronage of noble ladies of royal families during the rule of Rājuvula, the Great Satrap. Although they speak of the contributions of the chief queen and other ladies to the Buddhist world, it may be assumed from them that Rājuvula also was a religious person and his efforts were largely responsible for the advancement of Buddhism. The reign of Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa also witnessed the progress of Budhhism. An inscription[106] records that in his reign Udaya, a disciple of Ācārya Buddhadeva, along with Prince Khalamasa and Maja, offered the gift of cave-dwelling (guhā-vihāra) to Buddhism of Nagaraka for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda monks. It shows the prominence of the Sarvāstivāda sect in the reign of Śoḍāsa. Another inscription[107] of his reign refers to the gift of some lands to Ācārya Buddhila of Nagaraka who disproved the arguments of the Mahāsaṅghikas. At the end, it refers to all Buddhas, Dharma, Saṅgha and the Śakas of the Śaka country. These inscriptions undoubtedly prove that the early Śaka rulers were patrons of Buddhism and the Sarvāstivāda sect played an important role during this period. Mathurā, a great centre of the Sarvāstivādins, occupied a prominent place in the history of Buddhism. These inscriptions indicate that Buddhila was a renowned teacher of the Sarvāstivāda sect. They suggest further that probably he defeated the Mahāsaṅghika teachers in a controversy and it was for this reason several distinguished citizens of Mathurā offered their gifts to him. The first inscription refers to Ācārya Buddhadeva, who seems to have been a prominent figure of the Sarvāstivāda sect. There is a reference to the name of 'Buddhadeva' of the late Gupta script in a clay seal found at Set Mahat near Śrāvasti.[108] The Abhidharmakośavyākhyā (v. 26; IX, 12) of Yaśomitra describes that Sthavira

[105] EI, IX, p. 141 : A-I
Mahachhatra (Hra)vasa rajulasa
agra(ggra) maheshriayasia Komusaa dhite
Khara(rha) estasa yuvarana mata nadadi(si) akasa...
A-II
Sadha mata (tra) abuholae(e)
Pitramahi pispasria bhra
tra haynarana sadha hanadhita
atra (te) tirena horakapa
rivarena ise pradhraviprate
Śe (śre) nisime śarire pratiṭhavito
bhakravato śakamunisa budhasa
ma (mra) kit (hi) ra ya saśpae bhusaveti
thuva cha sagharama cha chatu
diśesa saghasa sarva
stivatana parigrahe.

[106] BSI, pp. 141-142.

[107] Ibid., pp. 141-142.

[108] ASIAR, 1907-8, p. 128.

Buddhadeva was an authority on Sarvāstivāda doctrines[109] and one of his teachers was Sthavira Nāgasena, a contemporary of king Menander. N. Dutt remarks : "It is rather risky to identify this Buddhadeva with Buddhadeva of the inscription, as it was a common practice among the Buddhist monks to have identical appellations."[110] From the above accounts we may surmise that Buddhism, which became the most important religion in Rājuvula's time, might have continued to maintain its same role and its steady progress during the period of Śoḍāsa, as we gather information from the available scurces belonging to latter's reign.

THE PARTHIANS

The Parthians brought the end of the Śaka rule and captured Taxilā, and several other parts of North-Western Frontier Province. It is said that in 43-44 A.D. Apollonius of Tyana, during his visit to Taxila, saw one Parthian ruler namad Phraotes on the throne of that country.[111] According to W.W. Tarn,[112] Phraotes was Gondophernes because the word 'Phraotes' was a Greek corruption of the word 'apratihata' which Gondopharnes had used as a title on his coins. John Marshall thinks that "the title apratihatacakra had been used by the Satrap Rājubula in the eastern Punjab. It may be noted that Philostratus represents Phraotes as being only 27 years of age at the time of Apollonius' visit, which would mean that be was about twelve years of age when he came to the throne in 19 A.D. On all his coins, however, Gondopharnes appears as a 'bearded, middle-aged man'."[113] But Von Lohuizen-de Leeuw states that Phraotes and Gondopharnes were not one person but they were two different persons.[114] The so-called Takht-Bahi inscription of the years 103 (of an unspecified era) refers to king Giduvhara or Gondophernes and it is dated in his 26th regnal years.[115] J. F. Fleet mentions that it was recorded in 47 A.D.[116] Probably, he began his reign in 19-21 A.D. and was the reigning monarch in 45-47 A.D. It is very possible that after the death of Phraotes, Gondopharnes captured the throne of Taxila. The latter was undoubtedly a great Parthian ruler. John Marshall speaks of the expansion of his empire. He says "at its fullest extent the empire of Gondopharnes comprised Sistan, Sind (probably with Cutch and Kathiawar), the southern and western Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, the southern Afghanistan. There is evidence also that he conquered and annexed part of the Parthian dominions to the west of Sistan."[117]

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109. BSI, p. 142.
110. Ibid., p. 142.
111. PHAI, p. 451; EHNI, p. 63.
112. GBI, p. 341.
113. AGT, I, p. 64, f. n. 3.
114. SPIH, p. 353.
115. CII, II, part I, p. 62.
116. PHAI, p. 452; JRASGB, 1905, pp. 223-235; 1906, pp. 706-711; 1913, part II, pp. 999-1003; 1907, p. 1039.
117. AGT, I, p. 60.

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After the death of Gondopharnes, the Parthian empire faced many problems and there was none to rule the country with a strong hand. Practically, the whole empire was divided into several principalities and each had its own ruler who ruled independently. The Kushāṇas appear to have wiped out the Parthian rule from the Gandhāra region before 65 A.D. and by A.D. 79 they must have established their sway over a greater portion of northern India.

Nothing is known exactly about the religion of the Parthian rulers from their coins and inscriptions. Christian tradition associates the name of Gondopharnes with that of Saint Thomas, one of the apostles of Jesus Christ, who came to propagate Christianity in India during the reign of this famous Parthian king. Many coins of king Gondopharnes refer to him as "Mahāraja Rajatiraja Tratara Devavrata Gudupharasa."[118] J. N. Banerjee remarks that the reference to 'devavrata', 'vowed or devoted to deva' probably mentions his Śaiva leanings in an indirect way.[119] But it is difficult to say anything about his devotion to Saivism when no direct evidence is available to suggest it. The so-called Takht-Bahi inscription of the year 103 records: "(During the reign) of the Maharaja Guduvhara (Gondopharnes), in the 26 year, in the one hundred and third, 103, year, on the first, I, day of the month Vaiśākha, at this auspicious paksha (this) chapel (is) the religious gift of Balasami (Balasvāmin) the Saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Mira the Saviour (and) of Prince Kapa, in honour of mother and father."[120] The Buddhists generally regard 'Vaiśākha' as the most auspicious month because the Buddha was born in this month. The reference to this month in the inscription possibly indicates that Balasāmi, his children and their relations were all Buddhists, who presented the chapel which probably was a Buddhist monastery. It took place during the reign of Gondophernes. Due to the dearth of evidence it is difficult for us to draw a definite conclusion about the religion practised by the Parthian rulers during their rule. It is quite certain that Buddhism existed in the Parthian empire during their rule. During the rule of the Śakas, the predecessors of the Parthians, it flourished and it also maintained its progress in the reign of their successors, the Kushāṇas. From this it will not perhaps, be unreasonable to infer that the religion of Sakyamuni also prospered in the age of the Parthians, though not in the most popular form.

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[118] ACHI, p. 214.

[119] Ibid., p. 214; DHI, p. 133.

[120] CII, II, part I, p. 62 :

1. "Maherayasa Guduvharasa vash(e) 204 II
2. sa(m) ba (tśarae ti) śatimae I 100 III
   Veśakhasa masasa divase
3. (pra)tham(e) (di I atra (isa) puña
   (dina, kshune) paksha) B (alasa) misa (Bo)yanasa
4. Par(i)vara (sha)dhadaṇa sapu(tradhitarasa)
   Mira Boyanasa
5. Erjhuṇa Kapasa puyae madu
6. pidu puya(e)".

GENEALOGY

THE SAKA EMPERORS[121]

Maues
Azes
Azilises
Azes II

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[121] EHNI, p. 280; AIU, p. 708.

SIX

BUDDHISM UNDER THE GREAT KUSHĀṆAS

AND THE ŚAKA SATRAPS OF WESTERN INDIA AND THE DECCAN

THE GREAT KUSHĀṆAS

KUJULA KADPHISES

The Kushāṇas,[1] who played a dominant role in the political history of ancient India, belonged to the group of the great Yueh-chi (or Yue-chi) race of North-west China. They carved out a kingdom for themselves at Ta-hia (Bactria) after leaving their ancestral abode on the Chinese frontier. After they had become a settled nation in their new home at Ta-hia, the Yueh-chi kingdom was divided into five principalities : Hieou-mi (Wakhan), Chou-ang-mi or Shuang-mi (Chitral), Kuei-shuang or Kouei-chouang (the Kushan principality between the Chitral and the Panjshir), Hi-thoun or Hi-tun (Parwan) and Tou-mi or Kao-fu (Kabul). Kujula Kadphises, the powerful leader of the Kuei-shuang nearly a hundred years after this idcident, brought the other four principalities under his control and established himself as sole monarch of the Yueh-chi nation. He thus founded the Kushāṇa kingdom and declared himself its first king.[2] Fan-ye, who wrote the Hou Han-shu or the History of the Later Han Dynasty, states : "In old days the Yueh-chi were vanquished by the Hiuang-nu. They then went to Ta-hia and divided the kingdom among five Jabgous', viz., those of Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chowang, Hi-touen and Tou-mi. More than hundred years after that, the Yabgou of Kouei-chouang (Kushāṇ) named Kieou-tsieou-kis (Kozoulo Kadphises) attacked and vanquished the four other 'Yabgous' and called himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kushāṇ.[3]

Kujula Kadphises (I), who is also referred to as Kozoule Kadphises and

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1. PHAI, pp. 458-459; AIU, pp. 136-137.
2. EK, p. 19.
3. EHNI, p. 71.

Kozola Kadphises[4] in the Greek script on the obverse of his coins, has been identified with K'ieou-tsieou-k'io of the Chinese records. He also was known as Kujula Kasa, Kujula Kau, Kuyula Kaphasa, Kuyula Kadapha, Kujula Kara Kaphasa and Kujula Kara Kapsa in the Kharoshṭhī script on the reverse of his coins.[5] Kujula Kadphises brought the political unification of Ta-hia, attacked the country of A-si or An-si or Ngan-si (Parthians), captured the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul), conquered Po-ta (the country of Butkhak, about ten miles east of Kabul) and Ki-pin (Kafiristan and its neighbouring region).[6] 'Thus he established his supremacy over these regions. He became monarch of a vast empire extending from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus. His reign may be assigned roughly to the period A.D. 15-65.

The discovery of a large number of copper coins with the legends throws welcome-light on his personal religious faith. The Kharosṭhi legends on the reverse of some coins run as follows: "Kushanasa Yanasa Kujula Kaphsasa sacha-dhramathidasa"[7] "(coin) of Kujula Kaphasa, chief or king of the Kusanas, steadfast in true faith" and "Kujul Kasasa Kushana Yav(u)gasa dhramathidasa"[8] "(coin) of Kujula-kasa, chief or king of the Kusanas, stead-fast in faith" . . .these short epigraphs on the coins may indicate that Kujula Kadphises I accepted Buddhism as his reilgion. Because 'Sacha-dhramathidasa' reminds us of the famous Buddhist term 'saddhamma' (so frequently mentioned in Pali literature) which is applied to indicate the "Good Dhamma" i.e., the Gospel of Truth preached by Lord Buddha. The new epithets 'dhārmaṭhida' and 'sachadhramaṭhida' may refer to his adoption of the Buddhist faith as his personal religion. The Chinese source mentions that the Yueh-chi king, who was ruling in 2 B.C., was a Buddhist. The Wei-lio records: "In the year 2 B.C. (the first year of the period Youan-tcheou of Ai-ti), a Chinese official had learnt to know Buddhist sūtras by oral transmission through the agency of an ambassador of the king of the Yueh-chi."[9] Probably, this king of Yueh-chi was Kujula Kadphises. One of the coins assignable to Kadaphes (Kadaphises I) with the seated figure on its obverse in bad condition was discovered at Taxila. R.B. Whitehead,[10] V.A. Smith,[11] and M.W. Tarn[12] think that the figure on the coin was "the Buddha seated in conventional attitude." But John Marshall does not agree with them. According to him, this was not the image of the Buddha.[13] M. Foucher thinks that the image of the Buddha was not used before the time of Kanishka.[14] A.K. Coomaraswamy

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4. PHAI, p. 461; CCIM, p. 65, no. 1; CGSKBIBM, pp. 122-123, pl. XXV. 3-5.
5. CCIM, pp. 65-67, nos. 1-2, 17, pl. XI, 2-4; CGSKBIBM, pp. 122-123, pl. XXV, 3-5; CCPM, I, 182, f.n.
6. PHAI, p. 460; AIU, p. 137.
7. CGSKBIBM, p. 123, pl. XXV, 5; CCIM, p. 66; CI, pl. IV, 2; NIA, I, pp. 269-270.
8. CGSKBIBM, p. 120, pl. XXV, I; CCIM, p. 33, no. I, pl. VI, 14; CI, p. IV, 2.
9. JNA, IX, 1897, p. 14.
10. CCPM, I, I, pl. XVII, 29.
11. JASB, LXVII, part II, 1898, pp. 130-140.
12. GBI, p. 403.
13. AKU, p. 34.
14. CGSKBIBM, pl. XXXII, 14; ARSI, 1915-16, p. 34, No. 20.

states : "As regards Buddha, no certain representation of him appears on coins before the time of Kanishka; the seated figure on certain coins of Kadaphes cannot be definitely recognised as Buddha, on account of the hammerlike object placed in his right hand. . . ."[15] The hammer-like object may be associated with Vajra. So this figure may be very easily identified with Vajradhara or Vajrapāni Buddha. Although the opinion differs regarding the identification of the image of the Buddha on the coins of Kajula Kadphises, it would not be wrong to surmise that Buddhism might have obtained a firm footing in the religious world during his reign. Śaivism also found a place during the reign of Kujula Kadphises. The figure of bull, the favourite symbol of Śiva and the monogram Nandipāda were discovered on his coins.[16]

WEMA KADPHISES

Kajula Kadphises, who died at the ripe old age of more than eighty, was succeeded by his son Wima or Wema Kadphises or Kadphises II (65-75 A.D.).[17] He was an able ruler and he conquered a large part of the Indian interior probably as far as Benares. Unlike his father who was probably a Buddhist, he was a devotee of Maheśvara.[18] His coins bear the figure of Nandin; and another bears the figure of Śiva with a trident in his hand on one side and he styles himself as a follower of Maheśvara on the other side.[19]

KANISHKA

The greatest of the Kushāṇa rulers in India was Kanishka who is usually regarded as a successor of Kadphises II. He ruled from A.D. 78 to A.D. 101 or 102. He completed the Kushāṇa conquest of India and abroad and ruled over a vast empire which extended from "Bihar in the east to Khorasan in the west and from Khotan in the north to Konkan in the south."[20]

There is a controversy regarding the date of Kanishka's regnal years. It is quite well-known that Kanishka, who probably came to the throne in the last quarter of the first century A.D., was the inaugurator of an era which came to be known as the Śaka-kāla of 78 A.D.[21] J. Fergusson,[22] H. Oldenberg,[23] J.W. Thomas,[24] R.D. Banerjee,[25] W.W. Tarn,[26] E.J. Rapson.[27] J.E. Van Lohuizen-De

15. AKU, p. 34.
16. CCIM, p. 67, no. 17, pl. XI, 4.
17. PHAI, p. 463
18. The Kharoṣṭhī legend on the coins runs... "maharajasa rajadhiraja sarva-loga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa wima kathphiśasa tratarasa"....AIU, p. 140.
19. VSMRS, p. 117; ACHI, pp. 401-402.
20. AIU, p. 141.
21. Ibid., pp. 143.144.
22. JRASGB, XII, 1880, pp. 259-285.
23. IA, X, 1881, 213, 216.
24. JRASGB, 1913, pp. 627-650.
25. IA, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 51-78.
26. GBI, p. 352.
27. CHI, I, pp. 583-703.

Leeuw,[28] R. Bachhofer,[29] H.C. Raychaudhuri,[30] and D.C. Sircar[31] hold the view that Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era which began from 78 A.D. It has been accepted by many scholars that Kanishka ruled from 78 to 101 or 102 A.D. which harmonizes with Kanishka's dates 1-23 mentioned in the inscriptions. His capital was Purushapura (modern Peshawar). He is credited with the conquest of Afghanistan, Samarkand, Yarkand and Khotan.

"Kanishka's fame rests not so much on his conquests, as on his patronage of the religion of Śākyamuni."[32] Buddhism received a great impetus during his reign. The Buddhist legends record the story of the conversion of Kanishka like that of Aśoka. On seeing the horrors of the war he like Aśoka felt remorse and became a changed person and accepted Buddhism as his religion. This story seems to be merely an echo of the story of Aśoka as related in Buddhist literature and his inscription. At first he followed the policy of the expansion of his empire. With this idea in his mind, he invaded Parthia (Ngansi) and Pātaliputra (Hoa-chen). He received the great Buddhist theologian Aśvaghosha, the Buddha's wooden bowl and a miraculous cock as war indemnity[33] from Pāṭaliputra. Thence he brought them to Purushapura, the capital of the vast Kushāṇa empire. Under the influence of the Buddhist scholar and post Aśvaghosha, he became a religious person and embraced Buddhism.

The Sūtralaṁkāra[34] of Aśvaghosa in chapter VI gives a short history of Kanishka's conquest of Eastern India and his great faith in Buddhism. It says : "In the race of kiu-cha (Yush-chi) (Kushāṇa) there was a king named Tchen-tan Kia-ni-tch'a (Devaputura Kanishka). He conquered Toung Tien-tchou (Eastern India) and pacified the country. His power spread fear, his good fortune was complete. He set out to return to his kingdom. The route passed through a broad, flat land. At that time, the king's heart was pleased only with the religion of the Buddha, he made it his necklace."[35]

In order to honour Buddhism and for its progress and prosperity, Kanishka constructed a stūpa and a monastery and Purushapura. In the Khotanese manuscripts from Tun-huang, now in the Pelliot Collection at Biblitheque Nationals, Paris, a fragment of such a legend of Kanishka has been found. In the first three lines in Sanskrit it is mentioned thus[36] : "As it has been heard, in the period of four hundred years[37] the Bhagavan had entered into Bodhi (illumination),

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28. SPIH, p. 387.
29. JAOS, vol. 61, 1941, p. 242.
30. PHAI, pp. 465.472.
31. AIU, pp. 144-146.
32. PHAI, p. 475.
33. NNJ, 1340, chap. 5; IA, XXXII, 1903, pp. 387-388; JA, July-December, 1876; EK, pp. 77-78.
34. EK, p. 296.
35. IA, XXXII, 1903, p. 385.
36. EK, p. 88; JRASGB, 1942, p. 19.
37. This date placed Kanishka in the second century B.C.

tion), in the kingdom of Bahlaka (Balkh),[38] there was a king Devaputra Kaniska by name, destroyer of his enemies's forces, foretold by the Buddha." But we get a detailed account in Khotanese. Thus it narrates: "So it has been heard when the Buddha had entered Nirvaṇa, within that period one hundred years had passed.[39] At that time in the kingdom of Balaka[40] in Tokharistan,[41] there arose in the family of the imperial rulers, a brave, meritorius, intelligent king of Jambudvīpa,[42] foretold by the Buddha in person, by name Devaputra Kaniska.

"The king with many hundred thousands of troops and relying on his own bodily strength was in command of the continent of Jambudvīpa. Many men and animals by his command lost their lives.

"At another time, the king, through his spiritual advisers, attained to faith in the teaching of the Buddha and to purity of mind. He rejected false views and in reliance upon true views he abstained from evil; day by day he produced important extensive favourable roots of merit in the Three Jewels.[43] So with the passing of time this king accompanied by his four divisioned army came to the district of Gandhāra.[44] A desire thus arose in him. 'I will build in this region a large and vast stūpa. I will fill it with the four-fold requisites.

"At that time the four world-regent (lokapālas) learnt the mind of the king. So for his sake they took the form of young boys. So for his sake the boys began a stūpa of mud in that region. When the king saw the boys, he asked, 'What are you doing? 'So the boys said to him, 'We are making the Kaniṣka-stūpa.' The king spoke with them; he said, 'Who is he who ordered you, saying you should build the Kaniṣka-stūpa?'

"At that time those boys changed their form, on foot the four world-regents stood before him. When the king saw those world-regents, trembling greatly, he dismounted from his horse. Before them standing humbly he stood, at their feet with reverence he went for refuge. The World-regents, spoke with him (lokapālai isa), so they said to him, 'Great king, by you according to the Buddha's prophecy is a Saṅghārāma to be built with a large stūpa and hither relics must be invited which the meritorious good beings dwelling in Jambudvīpa, the deities and protectors, will bring. Whoever may be those beings who by only casting a flower

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[38] Bahlaka stands for Bahlika or Vahilka, the name of the people of Baktra or Balkh—EK, p. 125.

[39] This date is incorrect.

[40] Bahlika or Balkh.

[41] Tahia.

[42] India was known as Jambudvīpa in Buddhist literature.

[43] The Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.

[44] The modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi (now in West Pakistan) were included in the Gandhāra district.

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thereon do honour to the stūpa, all those shall take birth in the worlds of the devas; in a moment, they attain to bodhi (illumination) according to the prophecy. And this Saṅghārāma shall be named the Kaniṣka-vihāra.'

"When the king had heard the utterance of the world-regents, then he ordered his ministers to summon architects. So he ordered, 'Assemble many working men. Here in this place begin a saṅghārāma with a pile high as one krośa,[45] and make for it also a dharmarājika (stūpa), decked with gold, silver, jewels and pearls.' The ministers assembled many working men. There in that place they begin the stūpa and saṅghārāma of Kaniṣka with the Bharmarajika (stūpa).

"At another time the king went with his spiritual adviser Aśvagausha (Aśvaghoṣa) to that working place when they had made the dharmarājika. At that time Aśagausha (Aśvaghoṣa), the spiritual adviser, picked up a ball of clay. Such is the act of truth which he made saying, 'If I am to realize the bodhi (illumination) in this present Bhadrakalpa (age) necessarily by the casting of this ball let some unparalleled sign appear.' At once on the casting of the ball, a certain Buddha image appeared as great in thickness and length as was Śākyamuni the Buddha . . . ."[46]

Fa-hien, the Chinese traveller, gives an account of the construction of the Kanishka-stūpa at Peshawar. He describes : "Going southward from Gandhāra the travellers in four days arrived at the kingdom of Purushapura (Peshawar). Formerly when the Buddha was travelling in this country with his disciples he said to Ānanda, 'After my parinirvāṇa, there will be a king named Kaniṣka, who shall in this spot build a tope.' This Kaniṣka was afterwards born into this world; and (once) when he had gone forth to look about him, Śakra,[47] ruler of Devas, wishing to excite the idea in his mind, assumed the appearance of a little herd-boy, and was making a tope right in the way (of the king), who asked what sort of a thing he was making. The boy said, 'I was making a tope for the Buddha.' The king said, 'very good', and immediately, 'right over the boy's tope, he (proceeded to) rear another, which was more than four hundred cubits high, and adorned with layers of all the precious substances of all; the topes and temples which (the travellers) saw in their journeyings, there was not one comparable to this in solemn beauty and majestic grandeur. There is a current saying that this is the finest tope in Jambudvīpa. When the king's tope was completed, the little tope (of the boy) came out from its side on the south rather more than three cubits in height."[48]

Sung-yun, another Chinese traveller, who visited India in 518 A.D., rafers to

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[45] Krosa– 1 mile 240 yards.

[46] EK, pp. 88-89; JRASGB, 1942, pp. 19-21.

[47] Indra, the lord of the gods.

[48] ARBK, pp. 33-34, TF, pp. 13-14.

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the construction of Kanishka's stūpa. He records : "Tathāgata was passing through the country with his disciples on his mission of instructing, on which occasion, while delivering discourse on the east side of the city, he said, 'Three hundred years after my nirvāṇa, there will be a king of this country called Ka-ni-si-ka (Kaniṣka). On this spot he will raise a pagoda (Feou-thou).' Three hundred years after that event there was king Kaniṣka.[49] On one occasion while going out to the east of the city, he saw four children engaged in making a Buddhist tower out of dung; They had raised it about three feet high, when suddenly they disappeared. The king, surprised at this miraculous event, immediately erected a tower for the purpose of enclosing (the small pagoda), but gradually the small tower grew higher and higher, and at last went outside and removed itself 400 feet off, and there stationed itself. Then the king proceeded to widen the foundation of the Great Tower 300 paces and more. To crown all, he placed a roof-pole upright and even. Throughout the building he used ornamental wood, he constructed stairs to lead to the top. The roof consisted of every kind of wood. Although there were thirteen storeys; above them there was an iron-pillar, 3 feet high with thirteen gilded circlets. Altogether the height from the ground was 700 feet. This meritorious work being finished, the dung pagoda, as at first, remained three paces south of the Great Tower. The Brāhman, not believing that it was really made of dung, dug a hole in it to see. Although years have elapsed since these events, this tower has not corrupted; and although they have tried to fill up the hole with scented earth, they have not been able to do so. It is now enclosed with protecting canopy. The Tsich-li pagoda since its erection had been three times destroyed by lightning, but the kings of the country have each time restored it. The old man say, "when this pagoda is finally destroyed by lightning, the Law of the Buddha will also perish." Within, the pagoda contained every sort of the Buddhist utensil, here are gold and jewelled (vessels) of a thousand forms and vast variety to name which even would be no easy task; at sun-rise the gilded discs of the vane are lit up with dazzling glory, while the gentle breeze of the morning causes the precious bells (that are suspended from the roof) to tinkle with a pleasing sound; of all the pagodas of the western world this one is by far the first (in size and importance). At the first completion of this tower they used true pearls in making the net-work covering over the top; but after some years, the king, reflecting over the enormous value of this ornamental work, thought thus within himself, 'After my decease (funeral) I fear some invaders may carry it off' or 'supposing the pagoda should fall, there will be no one with means sufficient to re-build it' On which he removed it to the north-west of the pagoda 100 paces, and buried it in the earth. And the spot he planted a tree, which is called Po-tai (Bodhi), the branches of which, spreading out on each side, with their thick foliage, completely shade the spot from the sun. Underneath the tree on each side there are sitting figures (of Buddha) of the same weight, viz., a chang and a half (17 feet). There are always four dragons in attendance to protect these jewels; if a man (only in his heart) covets them, calamities immediately befall him. There is also a stone erected on the spot and engraved on it are these words of direction, 'Hereafter, if this tower is destroyed, after long search, the virtuous man may find here, pearls (of value sufficient) to help him restore it'."[50]

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[49] This date is incorrect.

The well-known Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang made an extensive tour in India in 630 A.D. and he also mentions in his account about the Kaniṣka-stūpa. He writes : "About eight or nine li[51] to the south-east of the capital was a large very ancient sacred Pippal Tree about 100 feet high wide-spreading foliage affording a dense shade. Under it the past four Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa are to sit here; the image of the four Buddhas in the sitting posture were still to be seen. When Śākya Julai[52] was sitting under this tree with his face to the south he said to Ānanda . . . . 'Four hundred years after my decease a sovereign will reign, by name Kaniṣka who a little to the south of this will raise a tope in which he will collect many of my flesh and bone relics.'

"To the south of the Pippal Tree was the Tope erected by Kaniṣka. Exactly 400 years after the death of the Buddha Kaniṣka became sovereign of all Jambudvīpa but he did not believe in karma, and he treated Buddhism with contumely. When he was hunting in the wild country a white hare appeared; the king gave a chase, and the hare suddenly disappeared at this place. Here among the trees the king discovered a cow-herd boy with a small tope three feet high he had made. 'What is this, you have made ?' asked the king. The boy replied telling the Buddha's prophecy, and informing Kaniṣka that he was the king of the prophecy, adding that he had come to set in motion the fulfilment of the prophecy. With this the king was greatly pleased; he straightway became a Buddhist, and proceeded to accomplish the prediction. Trusting to his own great merits, he set about building a great tope round the site of the boy's small tope which was to be concealed and suppressed by the great tope. But as the latter rose in height the small tope always topped it by three feet. The king's tope was one and a half li in circuit at the base, which was 150 feet high in five stages, and the tope had reached the height of 400 feet. The boy's tope was now suppressed and the king was greatly pleased. He completed his tope by the addition of twenty-five gilt-copper discs in tiers and having deposited a hoard of relics inside, he proceeded to offer solemn worship. But the small tope appeared with one half of it out side-ways under the south-east corner of the great base The king now lost patience and threw the thing up. So (the small tope) remained as it was (i.e , did not come through the wall with one-half of it visible in the stone below the second stage) and another small tope took its place at the original site. Seeing all this the king became alarmed, as he was evidently contending with supernatural powers, so he confessed his error and made submission. These two topes were still in existence and were resorted to for cures by people afflicated with diseases.

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50. TFS, pp. 202-205; EK, pp. 91-92.
51. One li— 3/16th of a mile.
52. Śākyamuṇi.

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South of the stone steps on the east side of the Great Tope were two sculptured topes, one three and other five feet high, which were miniatures of the Great Tope. There were also two images of the Buddha, one four and the other six feet high representing him seated cross-legged under the Bodhi. When the sun shone on them these images were of a dazzling gold colour, and in the shade their stone was of a dark violet colour. The stone had been gnawed by gold-coloured ants so as to have the appearance of carving and the insertion of gold sand completed the images. On the south face of the ascent to the Great Tope was a painting of the Buddha sixteen feet high with two heads from one body. One pilgrim narrates the legend connected with this very curious picture as he learned it at the place.

"About 100 paces to the south-east of the great Tope was a white-stone standing image of Buddha eighteen feet high facing north, which wrought miracles and was seen by night to circumambulate the Great Tope. On either side of the latter were above 100 small topes close together. The Buddha images were adorned in the perfection of art. Strange perfumes were perceived and unusual sounds heard (at the Great Tope), and divine and human genii might be seen performing pradakṣiṇa round it. The Buddha predicted that when the Tope had been seven times burnt and seven times rebuilt, his religions would come to an end. The Records of former stages stated that the tope had already been erected and destroyed three times. When Yuan-Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) arrived he found there had been another burning, and the work of the building was still in progress.

"To the west of the Great Tope was an old monastery built by Kaniṣka, its upper storey and many terraces were connected by passages to invite eminent Brethren and give distinctive to illustrious merit, and although the buildings were in ruins, they could be said to be of rare art.

"In the third tier of high walls of Kaniṣka-vihāra was the chamber once occupied by the venerable Pārśva (Po-li-ssu-fo). It was in ruins at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, but was marked off. On the east side of Pārśva's chamber was the old house in which Shih-Chin-Pusa (Vasubandhu) composed the pi-ta-mo-ku-shi-lun (Abhidharmakośa-śāstra) and posterity in reverential remembrance had set a mark on this house. About fifty paces south from Vasubandhu's house was the second tier of high walls, here Manoratha wrote a Vibhāsha-lun."[53]

Alberuni in his description of India mentions that the vihāra of Purushavar (Purushapura or Peshawar) was built by Kanik, who has been identified by scholars with Kanishka I. He also states that this site was known as the Kanik-caitya in the eleventh century A.D.[54] The discovery of relics with a series of three seated

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[53] OYC, I, pp. 203-211.

[54] ABI, 11, p. 11.

Buddha figures, attendant worshippers and the figure of Kanishka himself with Kharoshṭhi inscription in Beshawar has proved that Kanishka erected a stūpa on the relics of the Buddha there. It corroborates the statements of the Chinese pilgrims. The inscription states: "In the year 1 of (the Mahāraja) Kanishka, in the town, ima, connected with the . . . mansion, this religious gift . . . may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings, . . . the slave Agiśala was the architect, . . . in Kanishka's vihāra, in Mahāsena's Saṅghārāma, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda teacher."[55] The reference to a vihāra and a saṅghārāma in the inscription needs some explanation for the meaning of these two terms. A vihāra is generally a dwelling-place of monks.[56] A saṅghārāma is a monastery as well as a residence for the members of the saṅgha.[57] But the term vihāra can be used in the sense of a whole Buddhist establishment including chapel, stūpa as well as dwelling chambers." Therefore, the term Kanishka's vihāra may refer to the entire complex of stūpa, votive chapels, monastery and other structures such as the refectory. If this is the case, Mahāsena's saṅghārāma will have to be in apposition to Kanishka's vihāra as an alternate name for the establishment. In fact, such inference is acceptable in view of the absence of the conjunction, ca, after the names."[58] There is a reference to Kanishka's vihāra as a saṅghārāma in a Saka-Khotanese legend.[59] Even the west part of the Kanishka vihāra has been described as Kanishka's Saṅghārāma in the Life of Hiuen-Tsang.[60] The reference to the Sarvāstivāda sect seems to suggest its popularity in the kingdom of Kanishka. Sten Konow[61] thinks that 'the year I of (the mahārāja) Kanishka' is wrong in this sense that Kanishka never became a Buddhist as soon as he ascended the throne. Although it is difficult to fix the exact date of his conversion, it will not be unreasonable to surmise that it took some years for the change of his faith and the adoption of the 'Law of the Buddha' as his religion.

An inscription belonging to the second year of the reign of Kanishka is an important bit of evidence of the progress of Buddhism during this period. It narrates: "In the year 2, of the Mahārāja Kanishka, on the 8th day of the 2nd (month) of Hemanta, (Buddhist) nun Buddhamitrā, who is well-versed in the

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[55] CII, II, part I, pp. 135 ff:

L. 1. Saṁ (I ma) (Maraja) sa Kani(ni)
(Sahasa) imana (na) g(r)ar(e) (dha)...g(r)aryaka
L. 2. deyadharme sarvasatvana (ṁ) (naṁ)
hidasuhartha(ṁ)bhavatu
L. 3. dasa Agiśala na(na)vakarmia
(Ka)na (ne)shkasa vihare Mahasena (na) sa saṁgharam :
L. 4. acharyana(na) sarvastivatina(ṇa).

[56] PED, pp. VIII, 101; SVK, p. 33.

[57] SVK, p. 33; JA, I, pp. 1-8.

[58] SVK, p. 33.

[59] JRASGB, 1942, p. 19.

[60] LHT, p. 64.

[61] CII, II, part I, pp. 135-137.

Tripiṭaka, sets up (this image of Bodhisattva at the promenade of the Lord Buddha."[62]

Another inscription of Kanishka's reign says: "In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above was (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka and fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi, (namely an image of) the Bodhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Benares, at the place where the Lord used to walk, . . . together with (his) parents, with (his) masters and teachers, (his) fellows and pupils and with (the nun) Buddhamitrā versed in the Tripiṭaka, together with the satrap vanaspara and Kharapallāna, and together with the four classes, for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."[63] These two inscriptions point out that the Buddhist monks and nuns were responsible for the establishment of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images in the reign of Kanishka and played a keyrole to advance the welfare of Buddhism. The Friar Bala, who was a fellow of the Friar Pushyavuddhi, was a master of the Triptīaka, and the Buddhist nun Buddhamitrā was also well-versed in the Tripiṭaka. It may be presumed that they were noted figures in the Buddhist world during this period for their proficiency in the Buddhist lore.

In the Buddhist ecclesiastical history Kaniska's name is closely associated with the Fourth Buddhist Council that was convoked and organised on the model of the Council of Pāṭaliputra summoned by Aśoka. After his conversion to Buddhism, Kanishka became a devout Buddhist and everyday he received from a Buddhist monk instructions and advice in sacred texts which he used to study with great devotion. But the varying opinions and the conflicting doctrine of the different sects in religious matters made him unhappy. His idea was to reconcile the various opinions of these sects and to settle the Vinaya, Sutra and Abhidhamma texts. By doing all these meritorious acts he wanted to establish Buddhism at the peak of its popularity and "to have the Tripiṭaka explained according to the tenets of the various schools."[64] Therefore, at the request of the Buddhist philosopher, Pārśva or Pārśvika, he convoked a council which was attended by five hundred monks who were well-versed in the Tripiṭaka and in the 'five sciences.'[65] They took active parts in this council and did a splendid job for the reconciliation of the conflicting opinions of the different sects and for the settlement of the texts of the canonical literature. During the session of the council, they composed 1,00,000 stanzas of Upadeśa-śāstra explanatory of the canonical sūtras, 1,00,000 stanzas of Vinaya-Vibhāshāśāstras explanatory of the Vimaya and 1,00,000 stanzas of Abhidharma-Vibhāshā-śāstras explanatory of the Abhidharma.[66] Vasumitra, the great Buddhist philosopher, was the president of the council. Aśvaghosha, another great Buddhist philosopher, who is said to have been brought to Purushapura by Kanishka from Pāṭaliputra, acted as the Vice-president.

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[62] EI, XXIV, 1937-38, pp. 210-212:
1. (Ma)h(ā)rājasya Kan(i)shkaṣa
   samva(tsa)r(e) 2h(e) 2 di 8 Bodhisatvo (Hvaṁ)
   pra(ti)
2. (shtha)payati bhikhuṇi Buddhamitrā
   trepit(i)ka bhagavato Budhasa cha(m)kame.

[63] EI. VIII, 1905-6, pp. 173 ff:
1. Maharajasya Kanishkasya saṁ he 3 di 22
2. etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushyavuddhisya saddhyevi
3. hārisya bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya
4. Bodhisatvo chhatrayashti cha pratishṭhāpito
5. Bārāṇasiye Bhagavato chamkame sahā māt(ā)
6. pitihi sahā upaddhyāyā cherehi saddhyevihāri
7. hi antevāsikehi cha sahā Buddhamitraye trepiṭika
8. ye sahā kshetrapeṇa vanasparena kharapallā
9. nena cha sahā cha(tu)hi parishāhi sarvasatvanaṁ
10. hitasukhārtthaṁ.

The Tibetan historian Lāmā Tāranātha,[67] while describing the council, states that king Siṁha of Kashmir embraced Buddhism. After his ordination he became known as Sudarśana and reached the stage of an Arhat. His helpful services for the spread of Buddhism in Kashmir were remarkable. On hearing of his fame, Kanishka visited Kashmir to listen to his discourses and to seek advice in religious matters. It may be pointed out in this connection that Kanishka's reign witnessed the division of the Buddhist Saṅgha into 18 sects, the origin of which may be traced to as early as the 2nd century B.C. According to the Tibetan source, the council of Kanishka acknowledged all the doctrinal views of the eighteen schools of thought. At the advice of Pārśva, Kanishka requested all the monks to assemble at Kuṇḍalavanavihāra (in Chinese Kien tho lo) in Kashmir.[68] It is said that about 500 Arhats, 500 Bodhisattvas and 500 Paṇḍitas[69] were present in the session of the council[70] to settle the Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma texts. Bu-ston says : "After recitation of the texts it was settled that the texts acknowledged by the eighteen sects were all of them the word of the Buddha."[71] The monks, who participated in the council, played a significant role for the welfare of Buddhism. They brought together the conflicting interpretations of the eighteen schools, settled their disagreements, recognised them as orthodox and examined carefully the Tripiṭaka which was reduced to writing.[72] Although there is no mention of the language used by the monks who attended the council to compile the treatises, the presence of the great Sanskrit scholar, Aśvaghosha in the

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[64] OYC, I, p. 270.

[65] Ibid., I, p. 154 : The five sciences are : grammar, mechanical arts, medicine, logic and religious philosophy.

[66] EK, pp. 102-103; BIA, p. 65.

[67] STGB, chap. XII; GM, I, p. 20.

[68] GM, I, p. 20.

[69] Pṛthagjana-paṇḍita, i.e., the paṇḍitas who are not srotāpannas ...HB, I, p, 97; GM, I, p. 20, f. n. 3.

[70] STGB, p. 60.

[71] HB, II, p. 97.

[72] STGB, p. 38; EHI, pp. 283-284.

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council as also the compilation of the Mahāvibhāshā (huge commentaries on the three divisions of the canon) give us the impression that Sanskrit was used as the medium of the language for the purpose. The convocation of the council may be reckoned as one of the most important events in the history of Buddhism in view of the fact that it was in this council that Sanskrit was used for the first time as the vehicle of expression for the Buddhist Religion.[73]

Hiuen Tsang[74] mentions that Kanishka summoned the Great Council four hundred years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha. Every day he used to study the Buddhist scriptures from a Buddhist monk in his leisure time. But he was rather confused when he listened to the conflicting interpretations of the different sects on the Buddha's words. Pārśva referred to him the cause of the rise and growth of these sects and the respective personal views held by their adherents. In order to restore Buddhism at the proper place, Kanishka, at the advice of Pārśva, invited the holy and wise monks of his kingdom to come to Gandhāra where they were received with great honour and they spent about seven days there. The king selected Gandhāra as the place of the council. But because of its heat and dampness, this proposal was not accepted by all. Then the name of Rājagṛiha (Rājgir) was announced. But that too was rejected on the ground that it was the place of many sects and its adherents. Afterwards, Kashmir was selected for session of the council. In order to attend the meeting Kanishka and the Buddhist monks came to Kashmir where the former erected a monastery to accommodate all the monks. By his order all the treatises discussed in the council were engraved on copper-plates which were kept in stone-boxes. Then he constructed a stūpa where he deposited them. Hiuen Tsang also mentions further in his account that the king asked the Yakshas (deities) not to allow anybody to take these texts out of the country. Before his return to Gandhāra, he, like Aśoka, offered the kingdom of Kashmir as gift to the Buddhist Saṅgha.[75]

Paramārtha (A.D. 499-569)[76] in his Life of Vasubandhu gives an independent account of the fourth Buddhist Council as having been held in Kashmir five hundred years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha. He instead of mentioning the name of Kanishka refers to Kātyānīputra, who convoked the council. With the help of 500 Arhats and 500 Bodhisattvas he divided the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma texts into eight sections (granthas), viz., prajñā, dhyāna, etc., and it was known as the Jñāna-prasthāna-sūtra or śāstra, the fundamental work of the Sarvāstivādin school. A commentary which was known as the Mahāvibhāshā śāstra on it was written by Vasumitra during the reign of Kanishka.[77] Paramārtha also stated further that Aśvaghosha was invited from

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[73] YB, p. 49; EK, p. 108.

[74] OYC, pp. 270-271.

[75] OYC, I, pp. 270-271; LHT, pp. 71-72.

[76] GM, I, p. 21; EHI, p. 284, f.n. 1; JRASGB, 1905, p. 52; LVB, II, V, pp. 276-281.

[77] GM, I, p. 21; EHI, p. 284, f.n. 1.

Sāketa in the Śrāvasti province to help them for the redaction of the commentaries compiled in the council. At the end of the redaction of the commentaries drafted by the council, it was announced that no body would be allowed to take the Abhidharma text and its commentary out of the country. The only difference between Paramārtha's account and that of Hiuen Tsang is that the former refers to the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma texts only, but the latter mentions the expository commentaries on Abhidharma, Sūtra and Vinaya texts. There is a controversy regarding the name of the president of the council in Kashmir. André Bareau states that Kātyāyanīputra has been mentioned as the president of the council by Paramārtha.[78] He mentions further that a later tradition in Kashmir refers to the name of Vasumitra and he places the date of the Vibhāshā of Kātyāyanīputra in 100 A.D. "To add to the confusion", Watters' considered "Hiuen-tsang's story about Vasumitra to have been told with Mahāyānist bias. This, added to the fact that the story was a copy of the story about Ānanda's disfavour before the convening of his council, throws doubt on the origin of the tradition involving the name of Vasumitra with the council in Kashmir.[79]

Tāranāth states that five hundred Bodhisattvas attended Kanishka's council. It shows that there was a class of monks called Bodhisattvas who became very prominent at the time of this council. Their appearance at that time was no doubt a significant event in the history of Buddhism. The Divyāvadāna[80] refers to a class of monks called Bodhisattva-jātiaka. It also says further that 'they were not looked upon with favour by the Hīnayānists.'[81] At the time of Kanishka's council there was an indication about the appearance of the Mahāyāna texts which were popularised by monks who had reached the stage of anutpattikadharmakṣānti (faith in the non-origination of all dharmas), a dogma characteristic of Mahāyānism.[82] Tāranātha mentions in his account that the brāhmin Kulika of Saurāshṭra during the reign of Kanishka requested the Sthavira Arahanta Nanda of Aṅga to deliver discourses on the doctrines of Mahāyānism.[83] The use of the appellations, Arhanta and Sthavira signifies that Nanda, who was probably a Hīnayāna monk, had studied the Mahāyāna teaching.[84] Similarly, the monks who had reached the stage of anutpattikadharmakṣānti played a role for the propagation of Mahāyānism.[85] It gives us impression that there were some Hīnayāna monks who preached the Mahāyāna doctrine. The invitation of the monk Nanda from Aṅga to preach the Mahāyāna teaching shows the importance of Mahāyānism probably in the east. There is reference in all the Prajñāpāramitās to the origination of Mahāyānism in the south (Dakshiṇāpatha), its progress in the eastern countries (vartanyam) and the effective propagation in the north.[86] It is very likely that Mahāyānism took its origin in the south before the rise of Kanishka. It became prominent in the Buddhist world, established its main centre in the east and gradually came to the forefront in the north in the time of Kanishka. V.A. Smith[87] is inclined to believe that his reign witnessed the appearance of Mahāyānism. He observes: "... the newer Buddhism of his day which may be traced back to an earlier period and was designated as the Mahāyāna, or Great Vehicle, must have been largely of foreign origin, and its development was the result of the complex interaction of Indian Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellenic elements which had been made possible by the conquests of Alexander, the formation of the Maurya empire in India, and above all, by the unification of the Roman world under the sway of the earlier emperors. In this newer Buddhism the sage Gautama became in practices, if not in theory, a god with his ears open to the prayers of the faithful, and served by a hierarchy of Bodhisattvas and other beings acting as mediators between him and sinful men. Such a Buddha rightly took a place among the gods of the nations comprised in Kanishka's widespread empire ...."[88] But R.F. Johnston, in his Buddhist China, while giving a general survey of the Mahāyāna system, relates that Kanishka was not directly responsible for the rise of Mahāyānism.[89] Thus from the above discussion it follows that the presence of the Bodhisattva monks, the composition of the vibhāshā literature and the use of the Sanskrit language in the council give us an indication about the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the reign of Kanishka, although we do not get ample evidence to corroborate it. But it is to be noted in this connection that the Sarvāstivāda and its followers became very prominent in his time.

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[78] LSBPV, p. 132; SVK, p. 37.
[79] OYC, I, p. 271; SVK, p. 38.
[80] DVY, p. 261.
[81] BSI, p. 275.
[82] Ibid., p. 275.
[83] Ibid., p. 275.
[84] Ibid., p. 275.
[85] Ibid., p. 276, f.n. 1.

Kanishka occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism for his patronage extended to the cause of momentous of the Fourth Council and his subsequent zeal for Buddhism. The chronicles of Ceylon do not mention anything about this council. A possible explanation may be suggested for it. The Theravādin monks were not present in the council and did not take part in it. This was the reason why the chroniclers, who were the followers of Theravāda Buddhism, were silent on it. It is said that the Sarvāstivādin monks formed the majority and played an important role in it. There was a controversy relating to the venue of the council. Tāranātha points out that some authors aver that Kuṇḍalavanavihāra in Kashmir was the place where the council was held; but according to others the council met in the Kuvana monastery at Jālandhara.[90] A Chinese work gives the name of Kandāhār (Gandhāra) as the place of the council.[91]

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[86] Ibid., p. 276.
[87] EHI, pp. 281-282.
[88] Ibid., p. 282.
[89] EHI, p. 282, f.n. 1.
[90] EHI, p. 285, f.n.
[91] Ibid., p. 286, f.n. 1.

It may be presumed that the Chinese account refers to the place where the monks at the request of the king met together before their departure to Kashmir to hold the council. The Mongolian traditions say that the council was held at Jālandhar.[92] The reference to Kanishka as the king of Jalandhar in some works may indicate that his council was held at that city. But Hiuen Tsang does not mention anything about this council in that city, while he states that the council was convened in Kashmir.

The reign of Kanishka is an important period in the history of Buddhism. The discovery of the Buddha images, coins, inscriptions and historical sources give us sufficient evidence to show that the king, nobles and common people patronised Buddhism and they extended their whole-hearted co-operation to its progress. It can be said that it was the most inspiring period for the religion of Śākyamuni and was an age of great Buddhist activity. Kanishka's gold and copper coins reflect the religious ideas of the monarch in whose name they were struck. The obverse shows Kanishka performing a sacrifice over an altar, while the reverse contains the name of 'Boddo' (Buddha)[93] or 'Sakaumo Boddo' (Śākyamuni Buddha). The discovery of the images of the Buddha at Hotimardan and Mathurā, the dedication of stone image of the Bodhisattva by Bhikshu Bala at Sārnāth, a caitya (Cetiya) slab showing a stūpa at Amarāvati of the second century A.D.[94] prove the popularity of Buddhism during Kanishka's rule. Now let us deal with some of the epigraphic records which throw a flood of light on the state of Buddhism during the reign of Kanishka. K.G. Goswami[95] draws attention to a Brāhmī inscription of Kanishka (Kosam inscription), dated in the year 2, which records the erection of a statue of Bodhisattva by a Buddhist nun named Bodhimitrā, who was well-versed in the three Piṭakas. The Sui Vihar Copper-plate inscription in Kharoshthī of the reign of Kanishka describes : "On the 28th day of the month Daisios, in the 11th year of the great king, the over-king of kings, the son of the gods, Kanishka. On the specified day, to the mendicant Nāgadatta, learned in the Sāṁkhya (philosophy), the disciple of the Āchārya Damatrāta, the disciple of the Āchārya Bhava, putting up his staff (or pillar), here the owner of the Damana vitāra, the female lay devotee Balanandi, (who is) full of penances, and Balajaya, her mother, gave a shrine for the staff and the customary accessories. May it be for the health and wealth of all beings."[96]

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[92] Ibid., p. 284, f.n. 1.

[93] WB, p. 311.

[94] Ibid., p. 311.

[95] CR, July, 1934, p. 83; PHAI, p. 473. f.n. 6; EBRI, p. 133.

[96] IA, X, 1881, p. 326 : "Maharajasya rajatirajasya deva putrasya Kanishkasya saṁvatsare ekādasa saṁ. 11 daisikasya masasya divase athav'śe di 28, vyattadivase bhichhusya Nagadatasya saṁkhakatisya acharya-Damatrāta-sishyasya acharya-Bhava-prasishyasya yathiṁ arogapayato, iha damane viharasvamini upasika Balanamdi Kichhubini Balajaya mata cha cha imaṁ yathipratithanam kapajam cha anuparivaram dadamti sarvasatvanam hitasukhaya bhavatu."

The Zeda (near Und) inscription in Kharoshṭhī of the reign of Kanishka (of the year 11) records : "Anno 10, on the 20 day of the month Āshāḍha, in the uttaraphalgunī, at this instant this well was dug, in the reign of the Lord, the master of treasure, Kanishka, — and further a 'watergiver'—as the gift of Hipea Dhia for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda, in honouring of the Kshatrapa Liaka, for the benefitting of his mother; the gift was made by the favour and for the increase of Saṅghamitrarāja."[97] This inscription gives the impression about the importance of the Sarvāstivāda sect during Kanishka's rule.

The Manikiala (in the Rawalpindi district, west Punjab) inscription of the year 18 of Kanishka records the establishment of several relics of the Buddha : "Anno 18, on the 20 day in the month of Kārttika, on the first (tithi) during the reign of Mahārāja Kanishka, the general Lala, the scion of the Gushāṇa race, the donation master of the Kshatrapa Vaśpasi. . .he is his donation master in his own vihāra. . .establishes several relics of the Lord Buddha, together with a triad : Veśpasia the Khudachian, Burita the vihāra architect and with the whole chapter. Through the root of bliss, together with the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, may it be for ever for the principal share of (my) brother Svasabuddhi. . . ."[98]

Another inscription probably of the reign of Kanishka records the setting up of a Bodhisattva image by a lady. It states : "the first fortnight of summer, the year 23 of the Mahārāja Kani (Kanishka) of this day, Pushya (datta), the daughter of Mahārāja Matsyagupta, establishes (this) Bodhisattva in her monastery."[99] Here Maharasya Kani may be taken for Mahārājasya Kanishkasya.

[97] EI, XIX, 1927-28, p. 15 :
   1. "Saṁ 10 ashaḍasa masasa di 20 utṭaraphagune ise kehuṇamī
   2. Khada kue (mu)rodasa marjhakasa Kanishkasa rajami (to) yaṁda cha bhui danamukha
   Hipea Dhiasa sarvasti vadati badhase pujame Liaka—
   3. sa Ksha(tra)pasa upa kachaa mad(u) kata dana anugraheṇa va(r dha) se Sanghamitra-rajasa

[98] CII, II. part I, pp. 149-150 :
   1. Saṁ 10 4 4 (kartiyasa majh (e) divase 20) e (tra) purvae maharajasa kane
   2. shakasa-Gushaṇavaśasṁvardhaka Lala
   3. daḍaṇayago veśpaśisa kshatrapasa
   4. horamurt (o) sa tasa apanage vihare
   5. horamurto etra naṇa bhagava Buddhajh(a)va
   6. p(r)atistavayati saha tae(na) veśpaśiena khudachie (n)
   7. Buṛiteṇa cha viharakara (vha)eṇa
   8. sa(ṁ)veṇa cha parivareṇa sadha eteṇa ku
   9. śalamulena budhehi cha sha (va) ehī (cha)
   10. samaṁ sada bhavatu
   11. bhratara svarabudhina agrapa (di)aśae
   12. sadha Budhilena navakarmigeṇa."

[99] XXVIII, 1949-50, p. 44 :
   1. "Maharasya Kani 23 gra I etasya
   pu(r)vayam (ma)harasya Masyagutasya dhitā Puśya(da)
   2. bodhisatta(ṁ)
   3. (pratishṭhāpayati)
   4. svake vihāre (sarva-satvānaṁ).

The above epigraphic data and the numismatic evidence show how Buddhism became popular in the Kushāṇa empire and point to the predominance of the Buddhist faith in the reign of Kanishka, although Jainism and other religious creeds also appear to have flourished. We may next refer to the Set-Mahet Buddhist image inscription of Kanishka I engraved on the pedestal of the Bodhisattva image in Brāhmī script. There is a controversy regarding its date but T. Bloch thinks that "the reign of Kanishka is more likely to be true date of this inscription than the time of his successor Huvishka."[100] The inscription states : "(In the. . .year of the Mahārāja, Devaputra Kanishka (or Huvishka), in the. . .month of. . .on the) 19th (day), on the date specified, above, a Bodhisattva, an umbrella and a stick, the gift of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripiṭaka, a companion (saddhy(e)vihārin) of the monk Pushya (vriddhi), (have been set up) at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord (i.e., the Buddha) used to walk, in the Kosambakuṭī, as the property of the teachers of the school of the Sarvāstivādins."[101]

Although Kanishka's inclination towards Buddhism and his valuable contribution to the Buddhist world for its glorification are fairly well-known from archaeological and literary sources, he also showed his liberal views in espousing the cause of other religions. Numismatic materials testify to the fact that he worshipped a medley of gods. His coinage gives us an idea that he honoured the Greek, Sumerian, Mithraic, Zoroastrian, Elamite and Indian deities.[102] His liberal religious policy gives ample opportunity for the rise of controversial points among scholars regarding his actual conversion to Buddhism. K. Walton Dobbins remarks : "We have no definite proof that Kanishka was a Buddhist, even though some religious records naturally claim him as such in the same way that they claim Menander.[103] There was no state religion, even though there were state sanctuaries. The one (devakula) at Mat near Mathurā was probably meant for worshipping ancestors, while KANIKO BOGOLAGGO at Surkh-Kotal was probably a fire temple.[104] The reliquary, an official gift to a Buddhist establishment, carries the figure of the Iranian deities, Miiro (Mihira) and Mao. Similarly, the name Mahāsena by which the Saṅghārāma was called reminds one of the name

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[100] EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 180.

[101] Ibid., VIII, 1905-6, p. 181 :
  1. "(Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya) saṁ... di) 10 9 etasye purvaya bhikshusya Pushya (vu)-
  2. (ddhis)ya saddh(e)vihārisya bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya dānaṁ B(o)dhisatvo chhātram dāṇḍaś-cha Śāvastiye Bhagavato chaṁkame
  3. Kosaṁbakuṭiya acharyyānāṁ Sarvāstivādinaṁ parigahe."

[102] EK, pp. 84-86; AIU, p. 147; PHAI, p. 475.

[103] SVK, pp. 39-40, f.n. : "The spreading of Buddhism outside India by traders from Kanishka's dominions and Kanishka's friendly attitude toward the Buddhists were later interpreted as evidence of his conversion. This led to the invention of several Buddhist legends about him."

[104] PBA, XLVII, 1961, pp. 87-89.

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of a Brahmanical God. This and the coinage of the Knshāṇas indicate that the official policy throughout the realm favoured eclecticism."[105] According to Rapson (Andhrā coins, XII), this queer assembly of deities exhibited on Kanishka's coins does not reflect religious eclecticism, but it rather points to the various forms of religion that were in vogue in different parts of his far-flung empire.[106] Now the reference to Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism in his legends, his patronage to several Buddhist scholars, the construction of Buddhist monuments under his personal care and supervision and the sudden rise of Buddhist activities during his reign certainly impress us that he not only embraced Buddhism as his religion but he also, played a vigorous role to popularise the teachings of the Buddha in his kingdom, though no epigraphic source is available to speak of his exact conversion to Buddhism. It should also be admitted in this connection that Kanishka was after all a foreigner; so he could not remain quite immune from the popular religious beliefs and practices that were prevalent at that time within and outside his kingdom like Saivism, Zoroastrianism, the Vaiṣnava faith, the Mihira-cult etc.

The great interest taken by Kanishka in the affairs of the religion of Śākyamuni brought about a revival of Buddhist learning which created a rich literature during this period. "He was as great a patron of Buddhism as king Aśoka and his name is as familiar to the Buddhists as that of Aśoka".[107] His patronage of religion and learning could not fail to be productive of great literary achievement and for this reason his reign is renowned as an age of numerous scholars of high repute. The king extended his patronage to the Buddhist scholars like Pārśva, Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha, Saṅgharaksha, Dharmatrāta, Ghoshaka and Buddhadeva who were regarded as men of great wisdom and devotion. The Fou-fa-tsang-in-iuen-tchoen[108] states that as a part of war-indemnity Kanishka received Aśvaghosha from the king of Pāṭaliputra. Aśvaghosha was one of the most prominent poets of Sanskrit literature and was the most important predecessor of Kālidāsa. According to the Chinese tradition,[109] he was the spiritual counsellor, Caraka was the medical adviser of king Kanishka and Māthara (Mo-cha-la) was a minister of state of the Kushāṇa emperor. According to one tradition, it was Sthavira Pārśva, who converted Aśvaghosha to the Buddhist faith, but a Chinese work accords to Pārśva's disciple Puṇyayaśa the credit of converting the court-poet of Kanishka to the new faith.[110] He was born in a Brāhmin family and had received a thorough Brāhmanical education before he was converted to Buddhism. The Tibetan biographer of Aśvaghosha informs us about him: "There was no question which he would not have solved, no

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105. SVK, pp. 39-40.
106. PHAI, pp. 475-476, f. n. 4.
107. SL, p. 10.
108. IA, 1903, p. 387; EK, p. 182.
109. Aśvaghosa, p. 5.
110. Ibid., p. 5.

imputation which he would not have rejected; he overcame his opponents as frequently as a strong wind breaks rotten trees."[111] According to Tibetan source, he was also an expert musician who composed songs about the vanity of existence and moved about with a band of singers in the markets attracting the crowd who stood spell-bound listening to the charming melodies. Thus he won success in recruiting followers of the new faith from the common people at large.[112] I-tsing also mentions that Aśvaghosha's songs were chanted at Buddhist sanctuaries and his works were studied at his time in India. He was the author of the Buddhacarita, the Saundarānanda, the Sūtrālaṁkāra, the Sāriputraprakarṇa, etc. He used to expound the Buddhist teaching to king Kanishka, who accepted him as one of his intimate friends.

Vasumitra contributed largely to the progress of Buddhism in the reign of Kanishka, and he played an important part in the religious affairs of Kanishka. We come to learn that in the early period there were three Vasumitras.[113] The first one, who was the author of the Prakaraṇapada and the Dhātukāya, two Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādā school, lived three hundred years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha. The second Vasumitra, who helped Pārśva in the compilation of the Mahāvibhāshā śāstra, lived four hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. The third one was a Sautrāntika teacher. According to some scholars, the first and the second Vasumitras were identical and belonged to the time of Kanishka. He was also the author of the History of the Eighteen Sects, the Saṅgiti Sūtra etc. According to Tāranātha, not only Vasumitra, but Dharmatrāta, Ghoshaka and Buddhadeva were prominent teachers of the Vaibhāshika school.[114] Dharmatrāta,[115] who was the maternal uncle of Vasumitra, was one of the collaborators in the compilation of the Vibhāshā. He may have been the author of the Udanavarga, a Sanskrit version of the Dhammapada. Ghoshaka[116] was a Tukhāra by nationality. He may have taken a prominent part in the compilation of the Vibhāshā because he is often mentioned in this text. There are references to Buddhadeva in the Vibhāshā,[117] who is probably the person mentioned along with Budhila in the Mathurā Lion Pillar inscription. Charaka,[118] a famous physician, was a contemporary of Kanishka and was the intimate friend.

Stūpas and statues of the Buddha and Bodhisattva were multiplied without end, religious buildings of every form were erected in capital and in several places of the kingdom of Kanishka. In his reign the Gandhāra and the Mathura

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[111] AHIL, II, p. 257.
[112] AHIL, p. 257.
[113] ACHI, p. 374.
[114] Ibid., p. 374; MIB, p. 128.
[115] ACHI, p. 374; ADKV, p. XLVII.
[116] Ibid., pp. 374-375; ibid., p. XLVI.
[117] Ibid., p. 375; ibid., p. XLVIII.
[118] IA, 1903, p. 387.

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schools of Buddhist art which produced fine specimens of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images reached the zenith of their glory and popularity. The Kushāṇas had a flourishing school of sculpture in the north-western region, now included in Pakistan, which from the name of the place has been styled Gandhāra. There is a controversy regarding the founder of the Gandhāra school of Buddhist art. According to some, Kanishka was its founder.[119] But John Marshall and A. Foucher believe that its origination took place during the Śāka settlement at Gandhāra in the first century B.C.[120] It is believed that the evolution of the Buddha image of the Gandhāra school began not at Kanishka's accession to the throne of the Kushāṇa empire but during the Śaka-Parthian period. John Marshall,[121] A.K. Coomaraswamy[122] and Benjamin Rowland[123] are of opinion that his reign marked an important epoch of this school and was highly developed during this period. But Vogel believed that it declined at that time.[124] Percy Brown[125] thinks that it was a Graeco-Buddhist art or the influence of the Greek sculpture on the Buddhist subjects. V.A. Smith remarks that it was a branch of the Graeco-Roman art.[126] Practically, it was influenced by the Indian, Parsian, Greek and Roman cultures and the best examples of it could be found at Gandhāra, Jalalabad, Bamiyan, Begram, Peshawar, Swat Valley, Yusāfzai and Taxila. The earlier art of India represented the Buddha only symbolically but the Gandhāra school produced a large number of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images.

The Mathurā school of Art which had its main centres at Mathurā, Sārnāth, Saheth, Maheth, Kosam (Kausambi) and Begram in Gandhāra region[127] became prominent under Kanishka and his successors. The Kushāṇa age can be described as the golden age both of the Gandhāra and Mathurā schools of art. The figures of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva and the Jaina Trīthaṅkaras such as Vardhamāna, Mahāvīra, Ṛishabha, Sambanāth and of the Arhat Nandivarta were not only portrayed but Lord Śiva, his bull Nandi, Pārvatī, Visākhā, Nāga god and Mahāsena and even statues of two Kushana kings—Kanishka and Wema Kadphises were depicted by the artists of the Mathurā school of art. Pillars, pillar-bars, cross-bars, stūpas and several other statues were also created by the craftsmen of this school and show before us that their creation was no doubt a fine specimen of art. This happened because of the catholicity of the religious toleration of the Kushāṇa kings, the patronisation of Indian and foreign artists by them and their love for art.

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119. AAIBHJ, p. 72.
120. JRASGB, 1947, p. 12; AGBG, II, p. 496.
121. JRASGB, 1947, p. 119.
122. HIIA, p. 52.
123. AAIBHJ, p. 71.
124. EK, p .177.
125. IABHP, p. 38.
126. EHI, p. 241.
127. EI, VIII, 1905-1906, pp. 177-181; X, 1909-1910, p. 112; ASIAR, 1911-1912, part 2, pp. 120-133.

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Several inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kanishka found at Mathurā, Śrāvastī, Sārnāth, Tor Dherai, Baluchistan, Zeda and at Kurram in the Peshawar refer to the Sarvāstivāda sect. Among the eighteen sects which flourished in his reign, the Sarvāstivāda was the most popular one. It was a branch of the Theravāda and it took its origin in the third century after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha.[128] The Dīpavaṃsa mentions that it arose out of the Mahiśāsaka, a branch of the Theravāda. It was known as the Hetuvāda, Muruntaka and the Vaibhāshika. It means 'all exists' (sarvaṃ asti) and that is why it has received its name. It believes that all things in past, present and future exist. It fully agrees with the Theravāda in doctrinal points. Among the seventy-five elements in the universe, it holds the view that seventy-two of them are saṃskṛta dharmas in which citta, rupa and cittasamprayukta are included and the rest are the asaṃskṛta dharmas which are ākāśa, pratisaṅkhyānirodha and apratisaṅkhyānirodha. It is generally believed that in the reign of Kanishka the Sarvāstivāda sect flourished widely and caught the eye of the king, nobles and common people who patronised it. Monasteries and statues were offered to it which clearly proves that it attained prominence at that time. An inscription,[129] as already mentioned, states that the monk Bala, who knew the Tripiṭaka well, offered the Bodhisattva image, umbrella and a stick to the teachers of the Sarvastivada sect. Similarly, the Kurram Relic Casket inscription states : "In the year 21, of the tenth month Āśvina, on the 20th day, on this date...in the monastery of the navakarmika, son of Tśutra (kshudra) Varmayaśas, in the abode of the reverend Sarvāstivādins, in a stūpa, was deposited a relic of the Holy Śākyamuni. Says the holy scion of the Śakas : "From ignorance spring impressions, from impressions springs consciousness, from consciousness spring nāme-and-form, from nāme-and-form spring the six provinces (of the six senses), from the six provinces springs contact, from contact springs sensation, from sensation springs thirst (or desire), from thirst springs attachment, from attachment springs existence, from existence springs birth, from birth springs old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection and despair. (Such is) the origin of (this) whole (or Unique) mass of suffering. (May these) relics of the Lord of the universe (be) honoured by all sentient beings and (likewise) this summary (doctrine) of causes and effects."[130] This inscription is important because of the description of

[128] BIA, pp. 86. ff.

[129] EI, VIII, 1905-1906, p. 181.

[130] Ibid., XVIII, 1925-1926, p. 17 :

1. "(Saṁ 20) 1 masa 10 Asunakasa di 20 isa chhunam (khe) tre Varma(ya)śa putrasa (Ruu)bhumi-rañasa-mi ucha(rśa)na Sarva(sti)vadana... gaha(mi) su(bha) mi Bhagava(ta) sa Saka-mun(i) sa
2. sarira...pradiokhadi sakavuta Bhagava(ta) Avijaprachaga saṁkara saṁkara prachaga viñāna-prachaga nama-ruva nama-ruva-prachaga sha (d-a)ya (tana)sha (d-a) yatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga
3. vedana, vedana-prachaga tusha tusha-prachaga uvedana unadana-prachaga bhava bhava-prachaga jati jati-pra(chaga) jara-marana-śoga-pari(bha)va-dukhader-manala uvaga (sa...kevalasa dukh(kam) dhasa samudae bhavati."
4. sarira mahiphati(e)na savvasatvana puyae...sa(vva) sa(tva)na puyae esa cha (pra)tichasamasa cha".

doctrine and philosophy of the Sarvāstivāda sect.

VĀŚISHKA

After having ruled for about 23 years, Kanishka died in 101 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Vāśishka (24-28 i e., c. 102-106 A.D.), who ruled for a few years over an empire mostly confined to the interior of India. A Sāñchī epigraph of the year 22 engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha discloses the name of 'Rājan Vaskushāṇa' who may have been identical with Vāsishka. If these two persons be accepted as identical, Vāsishka may have commenced his rule not later than the year 22 as sub-king associated with his father, as Vaskushāṇa is simply styled Rājan (without bearing any of the Kushāṇa titles like dvaputra etc.) and the year 22 falls within the reign of Kanishka.[131] The Isapur (a village near Mathurā) Yupa inscription of the year 24 refers to him as Mahārāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāsishka.[132] The Sāñchī Buddhist Statue inscription of the year 28 refers to him as Vāsushka.[133] The Rājataraṅgiṇī[134] gives his name as Jushka, the founder of Jushkapura, modern Zukur to the north of Śrīnagar in Kashmir. From the epigraphic and literary sources it is quite clear that Sāñchī, Kashmir, Mathurā and its surrounding regions were under his control. But he ruled for a very brief period of four or five years only.

Like his great predecessor Vāsiskha was also a patron of Buddhism. It is said that at Jushkapura he built a monastery.[135] The Rājataraṅgiṇī[136] describes: "There were in this land three kings, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka[137] who built three towns named after them. That king Jushka, who built Jushkapura with its vihāra, was also the founder of Jayasvāmipura. These kings, who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the Turushka race, built at Sushkaletra and other places mathas, chaityas and similar (structures). During the powerful reign of these (kings) the land of Kashmir was, to a great extent, in the possession of Buddhas, who by (practising) the Law of religious mendicancy had acquired great renown. At that time one hundred and fifty years had passed in this terrestrial world since the blessed Śākyasiṁha had obtained complete beautitude. And a Bodhisattva lived (than) in this country as the sole lord of the land, namely the

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131. ACHI, pp. 242-243; PHAI, pp. 464-465, f.n. 8.
132. EI, II, p. 369.
133. Ibid., II, pp. 369-370.
134. RTG, IV, 168, p. 30.
135. Ibid., I, V. 169, pp. 12, 30.
136. Ibid., I. vv. 168-175, p. 12.
137. According to some scholars, Kanishka comes last in the list of the kings mentioned by Kalhaṇa because he was Kanishka II, who comes after Vāsishka. ... PHAI, p. 255; HFRAI, p. 131, f.n. 2.

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glorious Nāgārjuna, who resided at Shadarhadurna."[138] We may refer in this connection, to the Sāñchī inscription of Vaskushāṇa (Vāsishka) of the year 22 already mentioned, which records the installation of an image of the Buddha by one Vidyamati.[139] The Sāñchī Brāhmī inscription[140] of the year 28, found on the pedestal of an image, records that one Madhurikā, the daughter of Vera (or Khara) in the year 28 in the reign of the 'mahārāja rajatirāja devaputra shāhi Vāsashka' (Vāsishka), constructed a shrine and established a Buddha image in the Dharmadeva monastery. The Tibetan work entitled 'Pag-sam-jon-zang' records thus: "Kanishka's son, in his place called Rgas-i-dan, maintained 10,000 monks headed by 100 venerables for five years and helped in the preparation of many volumes of the Buddhist scriptures."[141] Due to the dearth of corroborative evidence, it is difficult to say how far there is truth in this statement. But it is quite certain that Buddhism maintained its steady progress during the rule of Vāsishka.

HUVISHKA

Vāsishka was succeeded by Huvishka in the year 28 (i.e. 106 A.D.). He was also known as Huvashka, Huveksa, Huvaksha and Huksha in his inscriptions.[142] He was Huksha in the Rājataraṅgiṇī[143] and his coin legends mention him as Doeshki.[144] He has been described in one Mathurā inscription[145] as the grandson of a king who is referred to as "Sacha dharmathita", or "satya-dharma(s)thitasya" "stead-fast or abiding in the true law or faith" which we have found already on the coins of Kujula Kadphises. The Rājataraṅgiṇī indicates that he reigned simultaneously with Jushka (Va-jheshka) and Kanishka (i.e. Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41).[146] His empire was not less extensive than that of Kanishka I. The Wardak Vase inscription of the year 51 possibly proves that the region lying about thirty miles to the west of Kabul was included within his dominions.

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[138] RTGI, I, vv. 168-173, p. 12:

Athābhavansvanāmānkapuratrayavidhayinaḥ
Huşkajuşkakanişkākhyāstrayastatraiva pārthivāḥ.
Sa vihārasya nirmātā Juşko Juşkapurasya yaḥ
Jayasvāmipurasyāpi sudhadhīḥ saṁvidhāyakaḥ.
Te Turuşkānvayodbhūtā api puṇyāśrayā nripāḥ
Suşkaletrād:desesu mathacaityādi cakrire.
prājye rājyakşṇa teşāṃ prāyaḥ Kaśmira-maṇḍalaṃ
Bhojyamāste sma Bauddhānāṃ pravrajyo—jirtatejasāṃ.
Tadā bhagavataḥ śākyassiṁhasya paranivṛiteh
Asminmahīlokadhātau sārdha varsaśatam hyagāt.
Bodhisattvaśca deśohasminneko bhūmīśvarohabhavat
sa ca nāgārjunaḥ Śrīmānşadharhadurnasaṁśrayī."

[139] ACHI, p. 242.

[140] Ibid., p. 243; EI, II, pp. 369-370.

[141] PSJZ, p. 83; JPASBNS, VI, 1910, p. 480.

[142] JBBRAS, 1902, pp. 269 ff; EI, X, 1909-1910, p. 112-114; II, 1894, p. 206; NJIN, I, 1892, p. 386.

[143] RTGI, I, v. 169, p. 12.

[144] CGSKBIBM, p. 144, No. 71, Pl. XXVIII, 7; EK, p. 140.

[145] PHAI, p. 475; JRASGB, 1924, p. 402.

[146] PHAI, pp. 476-477; RTGI, I, vv. 168-173, p. 12.

Huvishka whose dates range from 28 to 60 was a man of great religious fervour like Kanishka I and he adopted several measures for the promotion of the religion of the Buddha. In his reign it flourished and was patronised by the people. An inscription on the broken pedestal of a seated Buddha image found near Mathurā, records : "In the year 33 of the Mahārāja, the Devaputra Huvishka, on the 8th day of 1st summer (month), a Bodhisattva was set up at (Ma)dh(u)-ravaṇaka by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā, who knows the Tripiṭaka, a female pupil of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripiṭaka together with her mother and father. . . ."[147]

Another inscription belonging to the reign of Huvishka was found at Mathurā. It records : "In the year 39 of (Mahārāja) Devaputra Huvishka, in the third month of the rainy season, on the fifth day, . . .on 'that (date specified as) above. . .an (image of) the Bodhisattva was dedicated by the nun Pusahathini and the nun Buddhadeva with their parents for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.' "[148]

A Brāhmī inscription, found in one of the mounds at Jamalpur which is situated to the south of Mathurā, describes : "In the year 51, the first month of winter. . .an image of Śākya (muni). . .(the gift) of the bhikshu Suddhavarman, was set up in honour of all the Buddhas. Let the bestowal of this religious gift be for the attainment of nirvāṇa by the upadhyāya Saṅghadāsa, and for the cessation of unhappiness for Buddhavarman (and his parents). . .(and) for the welfare and happiness of all beings. In the vihāra of the Mahārāja Devaputra. . . ."[149]

The Wardak vase inscription[150] found in the topes of Khawat in the district of Wardak in Afghanistan states thus: "In the year 51 on the day 15 of the month Artemisios at this hour Kamagulya, son of Vagramarega, who has fixed his residence here in Khawat, establishes the relic of the Lord Śākyamuni in the Vagramarega vihāra in a stūpa.

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[147] EI, VIII, 1905-1906, pp. 181-182 :
1. "Mahārajasya devaputrasya Huv(i)shkasya saṁ 30 3 gri 1 de 8 bhikshusya Balasya trepiṭakasya antev (ā)s(i)n(i)ye bhikshuṇīya tre(piṭika)ye Buddhamitrāye
2. bhāgineyīye bhikhunīye Dhanavatiye Bodhisatvo pratithāvito (Mā)dh(u)ravanako sahā mātāpitihi...."

[148] ARASI, II, 1922-23, pp. 168-169 :
1. "... (De) vaputrasa Huvishka (sa) sam 30 9 va 3 di 5 etasya purvā (ya) bhikhuniya pus ahathiniya
2. bhikhuniya Budhadevāye Bodhisatto paratithāpito sahā mātāpitehi sarva satva hita sukh...."

[149] EI, X, 1909-1910, pp. 112-113 :
1. "Mahārajasya Devaputrasya Huvashkasya savatsare 50 1 hemanta māsa 1......yaṁ (bhi) kshuno Buddhavarma (ṇaḥ) (śakya)
2. pratimā pratishṭapit(ā) sarva Buddhapūjartha(m) an (e)na (da)yadharmaparityāgena upadhyāyasya Sa(ṁ)ghādasasya (nirvāṇāva) ptaye-stu(mā) tāp(ita) ...
3. Buddhavarmasya sarva-d(u)kho paśam(a) ya sarva-satva-hita-sukhārtha(ṁ) (M)ahārāja De(vaputravi)hāre ....

[150] EI, XI, 1911-1912, pp. 210-211.

By means of this meritorious foundation, may it be for the principal lot of the Mahārāja rajatirāja Muvishka, may it be for the honour of my mother and father, may it be for the honour of my brother Hasthuna Marega, and may it, generally, be for the honour of my relatives, friends and associates, may it be for the sharing in the principal lot for myself, Vagramarega.

May it be for the benefit of health of all beings; and moreover, may it be for the honour of all, what there is here between from hell up to the culminating point of existence: egg-born and the viviparous one, graminivorous animal and the incorporeal soul. May there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for my descendants, always for all who are not heretics and their family and may there also a principal lot for the man of false-belief.

This vihara is the acceptance of the Mahāsaṅghika teachers."[151]

Huvishka constructed a new city known as Hushkapura (modern Uskur, near Baramula) in Kashmir. Here he built a monastery known as the Hushkapura monastery.[152] His name was also associated with a splendid Buddhist monastery which certainly owed its existence to his munificence.[153] The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, while on his way to Kashmir, visited the Hushkapura monastery[154] and spoke highly of it. Huvishka is said to have repaired the Buddhist temple at Bodh-Gayā.[155]

The archaeological and epigraphical sources give us the impression that Buddhism under Huvishka became the most popular religion of the Kushāṇa kingdom. But his inscription also shows us that Jainism too flourished in his reign. The Lucknow Museum Jain image inscription says : "In the year 48, the 2nd (month) of the rainy season, the 17th day, of the Mahārāja Huvaksha, on that (date specified as) above, an image of Sambhava was set up by Yasa, the grand-daughter of Savatrana and daughter-in-law of Budhuka . . . ."[156] Several Greek, Persian and Indian deities found on Huvishka's coins indicate that although he was a Buddhist, he like his illustrious predecessor Kanishka I also maintained a very liberal attitude towards other religions.

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[151] EI, XI, 1911-1912, pp. 210-211:
1. "Sam 20 20 10 1 masya Artamisiyasa stchi 10 4 1 imena gaḍrigrena Kamagulya pudra Vagra-Maregrasya iya Khavodamri Kaḍalayigra Vagra-Marigra-viharamri tumbimri bhagravada Śakya mune śarira paridhabeti...
2. Imena kuśala-mullena maharaja rajatiraja Hoveshkasya agra-bhagrae bhavatu Mada-pidara Me puyae bhavatu Bhraḍaba me Hashtuna-Maregrasya puyae
   bhavatu socha me bhuya natigra-midra-sambhati-grana
   Puyae bhavatu mahiśa cha Vagra-Maregrasya agrabhagra-paḍiyaṁsaṁ.
3. Bhavatu sarva-satvana arogadachhinae bhavatu Aviya-nabagra paryata-sava-bhavagra
   yo aḍra-taṁtra-aṁḍa-jo jalayuga s'apnatiga arupyata
   sarvina puyae bhavatu Mahiśa cha Rohana sada sarvina avashatrigana sa parivara cha
   agra-bhagra-padiya(m)sam bhavatu Miṭyagasya cha agra-bhaga bhavatu
4. Esha vihāram asamśrana Mahasaṅghigana parigraha.

[152] AGI, p. 99.

[153] PHAI, p. 477; EHI, pp. 286-287.

[154] LHT, p. 68; GM, I, p. 36.

[155] IHQ, XXVII, 1951, p. 295.

KANISHKA II

Huvishka, as already mentioned, reigned conjointly with Vāsishka and Kanishka of the Ārā (near Attock) inscription of the year 41 i.e., 119 A.D. Very little is known about the events of the reign of Kanishka II. Luders thinks that he was a son of Vāsishka and probably a grandson of Kanishka I.[157] He exercised a great influence over a part of the Kushāṇa empire and assumed the novel title of Kaisara (Caesar) in addition to the titles of 'Mahārāja, Rajatirāja, Devaputra' assumed by his predecessors. It is believed that he built a town known as Kanishkapura in Kashmir. From the nature of the terminology employed in the Ārā stone inscription,[158] which describes "matarapitraṇa puya(e) atmaṇasa sabharya (sa sa) putrasa anugraharthae sarva (sapa)ṇa jatish (u) (hi) tae . . . .", (". . . in honour of his mother and father, in order to confer benefit on himself together with his wife and sons, for the welfare of all beings in the (various) birth . . ."), we may assume that this inscription is Buddhistic in spirit and it is most likely that he, like other rulers of the Kusāṇa dynasty, was favourably disposed towards the Buddhist faith.

VĀSUDEVA I

The next ruler was Vāsudeva I, who ruled the Kushāṇa empire from the year 67 to the year 98 which means that he began his rule in c. 145 A.D. and continued it up to 176 A.D. His Brāhmī inscriptions discovered only in Mathurā and its adjoining regions signify that his rule did not extend much beyond a part of Uttarapradesh. Probably, he was the last notable ruler of Kanishka's line, but even after the close of his reign, his successors continued to rule in diminished glory over the Punjab and the north-western frontiers of India till the middle of the third century A.D. But neither they played a significant role in Indian politics nor they contributed anything to the religious world.

Numismatic evidence clearly proves that Vāsudeva was a Śaiva like his great predecessor Kadphises II, although his name points to the holy memory of the founder of the Bhāgavata religion. Coins bearing the figures of Śiva with his

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156. EI, X, p. 112, No. 5.
157. EI, XIV, 1-17-1918, pp. 130 ff; CII, II, part I, p. LXXX and 163; PHAI, p. 477.
158. Ibid., XIV, p. 143.

bull Nandi and some inscriptions point out that various religions prospered in the reign of Vāsudeva I. He was not indifferent to the cause of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism also flourished during this period as is evident from the discovery of a stone image of the Buddha with five fragmentary lines inscribed on the base of the image near Mathurā. The inscription relates : "In the year 64 or 67, the second month of the rainy season, some day of Vāsudeva . . . of the creatures (that were born) . . . for the acceptance of the teachers of the Mahāsaṅghika community and also 'for the adoration of all the Buddhas' . . . an image of the Śākya muni (Buddha) together with a shrine (for it). The image of the Buddha was installed by Guhasena who belonged to the family of Kuṭumbikas, probaby agriculturist householders."[159]

We may also refer, in this connection, to an inscription in Pali engraved on a stone umbrella found at Sārnāth. It does not refer to the name of any reigning king. But it is written in the late Kushāṇa script and it seems to have belonged to the early period of the third century A.D. It may be ascribed to the reign of one of the successors of Vāsudeva I. It mentions the Four Noble Truths about suffering, origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the way leading to the cessation of suffering.[160]

Thus the Kushāṇa period can be regarded as an important epoch in Indian history. Literature, science, philosophy, art and architecture received a great impetus and developed remarkably in the age of the Kushāṇas. The age was one of great religious activity. The period witnessed the greatest development in the Indo-Greek school of Buddhist art and the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It was in this period that the Buddha for the first time came to be represented by images, and China as also Central Asia were converted to the religion of Śākyamuni. H.C. Raychaudhuri, one of the eminent historians has rightly observed : "That the Kushāṇa age was a period of great literary activity is proved by the works of Aśvaghosha and others. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity. It witnessed the development of Śaivism and the allied cult of Kārttikeya, of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and the colts of Mihira and of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kāśyapa Mātaṅga (c. 61-68 A.D.). 'The dynasty of Kanishka opened the way for Indian civilization to Central and Eastern Asia'."[161]

159. Ibid., XXX, 1953-1954, 1958, pp. 182-183 :
    1. "......trasya Vāsudevasya sa(m) 60 (4 er 7) varsh(ā)māse dviti 2 divasi
    2. ...... naṁ sa(rva)sha yati-opanāna p(u) jārtha
    3. ...... na parigrahā(ya) achariyana mahāsaṅghika
    4. ......(ṁ)sya prat(i)m(ā) sag(i)h(ā) mātā-pitreṇa abha(s)i (ta) naṁ
    5. ...... K(u)t(ub)ikānaṁ (Guha)sene(na)."

160. WB, p. 298 :

Cattarimāni bhikkhave ar(i)ya-saccāni
Katamāni (ca)ttāri dukkha(ṁ) di (bhi)kkhave arā(i)ya-saccaṃ
Dukkha-samuday(o)ariya-saccaṃ dukkha-nirodha ariya-saccaṃ
dukkha-nirodha-gāminī (ca)paṭipadā ari(ya)-saccaṃ."

161. PHAI, p. 478.

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THE ŚAKA SATRAPS OF WESTERN INDIA AND THE DECCAN

THE KSHAHARĀTAS

In the second and first centuries B.C. the Śakas established their position over an extensive area of Northern India and maintained their supremacy for some time in the north.[162] A Satrapal family, the Kshaharātas, who possibly belonged to the Śaka group, ruled over western India and the Deccan and wrested parts of Mahārāshtra from the Sātavāhanas. According to H.C. Raychaudhuri, "Kshaharāta seems to be identical with 'Karatai', the designation of a famous Śaka tribe of the north mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy."[163] Liaka, Patika, Ghaṭāka, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were the known members of the Kshaharāta or Chaharāta family.[164] But the first three members ruled over Taxilā and Mathurā regions and Bhūmaka, who preceded Nahapāna, was a Kshatrapa or Satrap of Kāthiāwār. It is said that the south-western part of the empire of the Kushāṇas of Kanishka's house was ruled by Kshaharāta Bhūmaka whose coins found in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Mālwā and Ajmer may signify that he extended his power to these regions.[165] He possibly ascended the throne between 50 and 60 A.D.[166] Nothing much is known either from coins or from any source about political, social and religious conditions of the country during his rule.

NAHAPĀNA

Bhūmaka was succeeded by Nahapāna, who was regarded as the greatest of the Kshaharāta Satraps. Nahapāna's coins and some of his inscriptions bearing the dates 41, 42, 45 and 46 of an era which was probably Kanishka's Śaka era of 78, refer to him as Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa. The acceptance of the date of Nahapāna's inscriptions with the Śaka era of 78 A.D. may indicate that Nahapāna was in the power in the period c. 119-124 A.D.[167]

The prosperity of Nahapāna's reign is proved by the discovery of coins issued by him in the Ajmer and Nasik regions about the wide extent of his kingdom. From the numismatic data and inscriptions of Usavadāta (Ṛishabhadata), his son-in-law and Aryaman, an amātya or district officer of Nahapāna, it is proved that Mālwā, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Northern Konkan, Nasik and Poona (Pune) districts and also some portions of Rājputana were under the control of Nahapāna.[168] His rule came to an end probably after the Śaka year 46 (c. 124-

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162. PHAI, p. 483.
163. Ibid., p. 484; IA, XIII, 1884, p. 400.
164. Ibid., p. 484; EHNI, pp. 100-101.
165. AIU, p, 179.
166. EHNI, p. 101.
167. PHAI, p. 485; AIU, p. 180.
198. Ibid., pp. 484-485; ibid., pp. 180-181; EHNI, p. 105.

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125 A.D.), when he was defeated and killed by the Sātavāhana king Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, who has been described in an inscription as the 'uprooter of the Kshaharāta race' and 'the restorer of the glory of the Sātavāhana family.'[169] The latter seems to have destroyed the influence of the Kshaharātaś, the Śakas, the Yavanas, and the Pahlavas and became the overlord of many countries, viz., Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt Mālwā, Northern Konkan etc.[170] Nothing is known about the Kshaharāta family after the tragic end of Nahapāna.

Nahapāna's reign witnessed the flourishing condition of Buddhism in western Deccan. The Kshaharātas and their rivals the Sātavāhanas view with one another in building monasteries and caves and forwarding endowments in various kinds for the benefit of Buddhist monks. The royal example was followed by feudatories, officials and the rich people alike. From the inscriptions of his reign it is known that his daughter Dakhamitrā, his son-in-law Ushavadāta and his grandson Mitadevaṇaka seem to have embraced Buddhhism and made endowments for the benefactions of the religion of the Buddha. We can easily guess its importance during this period from the number of gifts offered to the Saṅgha and at the same time it is quite clear that it was patronised not only by the Indians but by the people like Dakhamitrā, Ushavadāta and Mitadevaṇaka, who undoubtedly were foreigners and probably adopted it as their religion. We would not perhaps be far from the truth if we presume that Buddhism made the same progress in the kingdom of Nahapāna as it made formerly during the reign of some of the Kushāṇa and Śaka rulers and the members of the royal house showered their patronage upon the religion.[171]

An inscription found in a cave at Nasik records : "Success ! In the year 42, in the month Vesākha, Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa, has bestowed this cave on the Saṅgha generally; he has also given a perpetual endowment, three thousand . . . 3,000 . . . kāhāpaṇas which for the members of the Saṅgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave, will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (Kuśaṇa); and those Kāhāpaṇas have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govardhana, . . . 2,000 in a weavers' guild, interest one pratika (monthly) for the hundred, (and) 1,000 in another weavers' guild, interest three-quarters of a padika (monthly) for the hundred and those Kāhāpaṇas are not to be repaid, their interest

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[169] Ibid., p. 489.

[170] AIU, p. 182.

[171] EI, VIII, 1905-1906, p. 82 :

1. Siddham vase 42 Vesākhamāse rāño Kshaharātas Kshatrapase Nahapānasa Jāmātarā Dinikaputren Ushavadātena saṁghasa chatudisasa imaṁ leṇaṁ niyātitaṁ data chānena akshayamivi kāhāpaṇasahasrā
2. ni trini 3000 sanghasa chatudisasa ye imasmim lene vasamtānaṁ bhavisati chivarika kuśanamule cha ete cha kāhāpaṇa prayutā Govadhanavāthavāsu sreṇisu kolikānikāye 2,000 vṛidhi padikaśata aparakolikanikā

only to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand . . . 20000 . . . at one Praṭika per cent are the cloth money; out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the vassa in my cave, a cloth money of twelve (Kāhāpaṇas). As to the thousand which has been invested at an interest of three quarters of a praṭika per cent, out of them the money for Kuśaṇa. And at the village of Chikhalapadra in the Kāpura district have been given eight thousand . . . 8,000 . . . stems of coconut trees; and all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at the town's hall, at the record office according to custom . . . . . . ",[172]

The second inscription found in a cave at Nasik says : "Success ! This cell, a gift of Dakhamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, daughter of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa."[173]

The third inscription found in the caitya cave at Karle in the Poona (Pune) district describes : "(This) pillar (is) the gift of Mitadevaṇaka, son of Ushabhadāta from Dhenukākaṭa."[174]

The fourth inscription found in a cave at Karle states : "Success By Ushabhadāta, the son of Dinika (and) son-in-law of the king, the Kshaharāta, the Nahapāna, . . . who gave three hundred . . . thousand town, who made gifts of gold and a tirtha on the river Banāsā, who gave to (the Devas) and the Brāhmaṇa sixteen villages, who at the pure tirtha Pabhāsa gave eight wives to the Brāhmaṇas, and who also fed annually a hundred-thousand (Brāhmaṇas), . . . there has been given the village of Karajika for the support of the ascetics living in the caves at Valūraka without any distinction of sect or origin, for all who would keep the varsha (there)."[175] E. Senart points out that the donation is given here probably

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172. ye 1000 vadhi pāyānapadi kaśata ete cha kāhāpaṇa apadidātāvā vādhibhoja ete chivarikasahasrāni ve 2000 ye paḍike śate sto mama lene vasavuthāna bhikhunaṁ visāya ekikasa chivarika bārasaka yā sahasra prayutaṁ pāyūnapaḍike śate eto kuśaṇamūla... kāpurāhāre cha gāme. Chikhalapadre datāni nāligerāna mūlasahasrāni atha 8000 eta cha sarva srāvita nigama-sabhāya nibadha cha phalakavāre charltratoti......"

173. EI, VIII, 1905-1906, p. 85 :
    1. "Sidhaṁ rāño Kshaharātasa Kshatrapasa Nahapāna
    2. Sa dihitu Dīnikaputrasa Ushavadātasa
    3. Kuḍumbiniya Dakhamitrāya deyadhamaṁ ovarako."

174. EI, VII, 1902-1903, p. 56 :
    1. "Dhenukakata Usabhadata—putasa Mitade
    2. vaṇakasa thabo dānām."

175. EI, VII, 1902-1903, pp. 57-58 :
    1. Sidhaṁ raño Khaharātasa Khatapasa Nahapānasa ja(ma)tarā...n...kaputena Usabhadatena ti
    2. Josatasahasa(de)na nadiyā Banāsāyā s(u)vaṇatathakaraṇa brahmanana cha sola(sa)gā...
    3. ma(d)e ...... pabhāse pūtatithe brahmaṇāne saṭhabhāyāp(r)a...... (a)nuvāsam pi tu sataśahasam bho
    4. Japayīta valurakasu lenavāsinam pavajitānaṁ chātudisasa saghasa
    5. yāpaṇatha gāmo (ka)r(a) jiko dato sa...... na...... vāsitānaṁ :"

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for the support of the monks of the Universal Saṅgha, 'the Mahāsaṅghika monks', who resided in the caves at Valūraka which seems to designate Karle. Because in another inscription there is a reference to "the support of the brotherhood constituted by the Mahāsaṅghikas in the person of the monks (of this community) residing in the caves at Valūraka."[176] If we accept that the donation was given to the Mahāsaṅghika sect, it then indicates that this sect became prominent during Nahapāna's rule. The above inscription informs us that Brāhmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism and was favoured by the royal house on the same status as enjoyed by Buddhism.

An inscription found in a cave at Karle gives another evidence of the development of Buddhism in the kingdom of Nahapāna. It tells : "The gift of the nun Āsāḍhamitā."[177] This shows that the ruling class, monks as well as nuns played a prominent part in the religious world during Nahapāna's time. It proves the steady progress of Buddhism at this period.

THE KĀRDAMAKAS

CHASHṬANA

Not only the Kshaharātas, but the Kārdamakas, who belonged to the Śaka group, occupied an important place in the political history of ancient India. The founder of the Kārdamaka dynasty was Chashṭana, son of Ysamotika, who has been identified by S. Levi and Sten Konow[178] with Bhūmaka, the founder of the Kshaharāta dynasty because the Śāka word 'Ysamo' means 'bhūmi' or 'earth'. But E. Rapson and other scholars do not agree with this view. From the inscriptions found at Andhau in Kachchha (Cutch) we learn that Chashtana ruled conjointly with Rudradāman, his grandson, in the (Śaka) year 52-130-131 A.D.[179]

RUDRADĀMAN

Rudradāman, who was regarded as the greatest king of his dynasty, succeeded Chashṭana. The Junāgaḍh record (an inscription where we find the use of Sanskrit for the first time) of the year 72 (150 A.D.) speaks of him that he was selected by men of all castes as the protector and he assumed the title of Mahākshatrapa. The inscription also states further that he twice defeated Śātakarṇi, who, according to D.R. Bhandarkar, was Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty and captured from him Mālvā, Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt, Northern Konkan and Māhismati (modern Māndhātā or Maheśvar) on the

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[176] EI. VII, 1902-1903, p. 59 :

"...etha lenesa Valūrakesa vāthavāna pavajitāna bhikhuna nikāyasa Mahāsagh... yana...."

[177] EI, VII, 1902-1903, pp. 56-57 :

"Asāḍhamitāye bhikkhuni... dānaṁ."

[178] EI, XII, pp. 23 ff.

[179] Ibid., VIII, 1905-1906, pp. 42 ff.

Narmadā river. His kingdom also extended to Cutch, Svabhra (the Sabarmatī valley), Maru (the Mārwār region). Sindhu, Sauvīra (the lower Indus valley), and Nisdhāda (in the region of the Saraswati and the western Vindhyas) and Aparānta (Northern Konkan).[180]

After Rudradāman I, several kings of the Kārdamaka dynasty ascended the throne and ruled one after another. But nothing much is known about their achievements from our sources. It is presumed that because of their insignificant roles both in the political as well as in the socio-religious history of the country, we do not hear much about them.

Neither the epigraphical sources nor the historical records refer to the role played by the Śaka princes of the Kārdamaka dynasty in the progress of Buddhism during their reign. An inscription of the sixth regnal year of the Ikshvāku ruler Vīrapurushadatta states that Mahādevi Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, a royal princess from Ujjain, 'Ujanikā mahārā(ja)bālikā', erected a stone pillar at the Mahācetiya at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvāṇa. Besides the dedication of a pillar, she also contributed a sum of 170 dīnāri-māsakas to the expenses incurred by one Chāṁtisiri for the building of the stūpa.[181] It is said that the Ikshvāku monarch Vīrapurushadatta had five queens and Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā was one of them, J. Ph. Vogel remarks : "It may be concluded that she, too, was a consort of the reigning king, though in the inscription she is not expressly designated as such. She appears to have been a princess from Ujjain, the well-known town in central India. Among the rulers of the house of Chashṭana, the so-called western Kshatrapas, whose capital was Ujjain, we find a certain preference for personal names containing the name of the god Rudra, such Rudradāman, Rudrasena and Rudrasiṁha. This renders it all the more plaussible to assume that the queen Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā mentioned in the inscription belonged to that illustrious house."[182] H.C. Raychaudhuri[183] is not quite sure whether the Ikshvāku queen was the daughter of Rudrasena III or of some earlier prince.

It is not altogether impossible that the Ikshvāku queen was related to one

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180. PHAI, pp. 506-507.
181. EI, XX, p. 19 :
    1. "Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja Sakatasa Supabudhobodhino savamñuno sava-sat-(ānu)
    2. Kaṁpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha—gaṇdha-hadhisa
    3. samṁa-sambudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahāchetiya Ujanikā mahārabālika
    4. mahādevī Rudradharabhat(ā)sikā imaṁ sela-khaṁbhaṁ apano hitasukha-nivāṇadhanāya patith(ā)pitam
    5. mahātalavarihi cha Pūkiyānaṁ Chāṁtisiriṇikāhī imasa mahāvihārasa mahāchetīyaṁ
    6. samuthapiyamāne maḥātalavaria ubhayitā dināri-māsakā satari sataṁ 100 (—) 70 Khaṁbho cha
    7. ramño siri Virapurisadarasa saṁva 6 va pa 6 diva 10.
182. Ibid., XX. pp. 4-5.
183. PHAI, p. 509.

of these kings. It may be noted in this connection that a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription records the pious gift of a Śaka girl, which fact possibly shows that the Ikshvākus were friendly towards the Śakas.

Due to the paucity of evidence it is difficult to say about Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā's exact relation with the Kārdamaka rulers. If we accept her as a daughter of one of the latest successors of Rudradāman I, we would draw information from the above mentioned inscription that this princess embraced Buddhism and offered her pious gifts to its welfare. But we are not quite sure whether her adoption of Buddhism took place while she was a princess of Ujjain or after her marriage with the Ikshvāku monarch Vīrapurushadatta. Her acceptance of Buddhism before her marriage may indicate the progress of Buddhism during the rule of the Kārdamaka rulers. But the sources are silent on it. New discoveries may throw light on the subject. From the first part of the names of some of the rulers of the Kārdamaka dynasty such as Rudradāman, Rudrasena and Rudrasiṁha, we may surmise that the worship of Rudra or Rudra-Śiva or the God Śiva became prominent at that time.

GENEALOGY

THE KUSHĀṆAS[184]

Kujula Kadphises
Wema Kadphises
Kanishka I
Vāsishka
Huvishka
Kanishka II
Vāsudeva I
Kanishka III
Vāsudeva II.

THE KSHAHARĀTAS[185]

Bhumaka
Nahapāna
Dakhamitā Ushavadāta—Mitadevaṇaka

THE KĀRDAMAKAS[186]

Ysamotika
Chashṭana
Jayadāman
Rudradāman I
Successors of Rudradāman I

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[184] AIU, p. 708.
[185] EHNI, p. 232; ACHI, p. 292.
[186] PHAI, p. 512.

SEVEN

BUDDHISM UNDER THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

(THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS)

THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

Among the dynasties which rose into prominence in trans-Vindhyan India during the post-Maurya period, the Sātavāhanas, who ruled for nearly three centuries, became very prominent and their contribution to the political and socio-religious history of India was significant. The Purāṇas refer to them as Andhra-bhṛtyas.

SIMUKA

Simuka was the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The Purāṇas state that "the Āndhra Simuka with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and him (Suśarman), and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this earth."[1] There is a lot of controversy regarding the date of the founder of the Sātavāhana power, although the Purāṇas point to a definite clue in this regard. From the Purāṇic accounts it is evident that Simuka, who is also known as Siśuka, Śipraka, Sindhaka, etc., defeated and overthrew Suśarman, the last king of the Kāṇva dynasty, who seems to have ruled between 40 and 30 B.C. If we accept the statements of the Purāṇas, Simuka, who was a contemporary of Suśarman might have ruled about the third quarter of the first century B.C. But scholars like V.A. Smith and E.J. Rapson do not agree with the statements of the Purāṇas. They are inclined to place Simuka towards the close of the third century B.C.[2]

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[1] DKA, p. 71 : "Kāṇvāyanāms tato bhrityāḥ Suśarmanah prasahya taṁ, Suṇgānām chaiva yach chhesham kshapitvā tu balīyasah, Siśuk'ndhraḥ sa-jātīyaḥ prāpsyatimām vasundharāṁ tra-yo-vimśat samā rājā Simukas to bhavishyti."

[2] PHAI, p. 403.

From the traditions recorded in the Jain legends[3] we learn that Simuka, in order to consolidate his position and to attract the attentions of the powerful communities like the Buddhists and the Jains, constructed Buddhist and Jain temples. It is quite true that the Purāṇic religion including Vaishnavism, Śaivism etc. prevailed in the reign of this king, but Buddhism along with Jainism also flourished during his reign. According to Jain legends, the two latter communities were very powerful during this period and the king needed their help during his rule. But he was greatly influenced by the growing influence of Buddhism in the later part of his life and showed his great favour to it. This made the Jainas unhappy and they, out of frustration, dethroned him and then killed him. But there is no epigraphical evidence to corroborate the facts narrated in the Jain legends. We cannot but agree that such legends are based on facts. At least there is some substratum of truth behind these legends and traditions. Due to dearth of epigraphical evidence there is nothing to prove whether he held the Buddhists in special favour or showed his antagonism to other religious creeds. The prevalence of Buddhism in the reign of his immediate successor, king Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) as well as also in the reign of several other kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty becomes evident from several inscriptions, according to which, these kings patronised Buddhism to a great extent. As Buddhism flourished in the reign of some of the kings of the dynasty, we can infer that Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, also gave his full support to its progress and it became one of the most important religions during his reign in the Sātavāhana kingdom of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

KAṆHA (c. 37-27 B.C.)

Simuka was succeeded by his younger brother Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa). He followed the footsteps of his brother in extensive conquest and his empire seems to have extended as far as Nasik in the west. This is clear from an incription found on the upper sill of the right window in a cave No. 19 at Nasik in Bombay,[4] which refers to his reign with the words "Sādavādhana—kule Kaṇhe rājini."

King Kaṇha was a patron of Buddhism. He looked after the welfare of the Buddhist monks and helped the Saṅgha in various ways. An inscription belonging to his reign mentioned above describes thus "under king Kṛisṇa of the Sātavāhana family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer-in-charge of Śramaṇas at Nasik."[5] It is clear from the above inscription that Buddhism flourished in the time of Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa). The inscription provides us with the interesting fact that king Kaṇha had special officer in charge of the Śramaṇas which recalls to our mind the Dharmamahāmātras of Aśoka's reign. Thus the Sātavāhana ruler followed the footsteps of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka in appointing a high officer whose official duty was to look after the affairs of the Buddhist monks at Nasik. It shows that Buddhism received favourable treatment from the king, who bestowed his patronage for its propagation in his kingdom.

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[3] ACHI, p. 301.

[4] EI, VIII, p. 93; SL, I, p. 189.

[5] Ibid., VIII, p. 93 :
1. "Sādavāhanakule kane rājini Nāsika kena
2. Samaṇana mahāmateṇa leṇa kārita..."

SĀTAKARṆI I (c. 27-17 B.C.)

Sātakarṇi, the third ruler of the dynasty, ascended the throne after Kaṇha. He, after capturing several kingdoms, founded the greatness of the Sātavāhana power. The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela indicates that Sātakarṇi I extended his eastern boundaries of his dominion up to the western frontier of the kingdom of Khāravela in Kaliṅga.[6] He probably extended his influence over a large area of the Upper Deccan as well as some portions of central and western India.[7] Kāthiāwār and northern Konkan also came under his control. H.C. Raychaudhuri observes thus : "Sātakarṇi seems to have been the first prince to raise the Sātavāhanas to the position of paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. Thus arose the first great empire in the Godāvarī valley which rivalled in extent and power the Śuṅga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the Land of the Five Rivers."[8] It is said that he performed two horse-sacrifices (aśvamedhas), one rājasūya and several other sacrifices, such as agnyādheya, anvārambhaṇīya, gavāmayana, aṅgirasāmayana, etc.[9] The performance of these rituals shows that in his reign Brāhmanism prospered, and marks 'a sharp revival of the Vedic religion in the Deccan after a long spell of Buddhist ascendancy.' But no record of his patronage to Buddhism is available from any source of information. At the same time we cannot find out any record regarding his anti-Buddhist feelings from literary or archaeological sources. The brilliant reign of the 'Dakṣiṇāpathapati' Sātakarṇi was short. After his death his wife Nayanikā or Nāganikā governed the kingdom as regent during the minority of his two surviving sons Vedaśrī (or Khandasiri) and Śakti-śrī (Satisiri).

The Purāṇas give the lists of the names of kings, who ruled afterwards between Sātakarṇi I (end of the first century B.C.) and Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (beginning of the second century A.D.). But little is known of the kings who came after Sātakarṇi I. The kings, who were placed between Sātakarṇi I and Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, made an insignificant contribution to the cause of the religion during their reign. That is why nothing much is available about them from any source of information. The interval of about a century witnessed the temporary eclipse of the Sātavāhana power due to the wave of Scythian invasion.[10]

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[6] AIU, p. 198.
[7] Ibid., p. 198.
[8] PHAI, p. 417.
[9] ACHI, p. 302.
[10] AIU, p. 200.

GAUTAMIPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI (c. A.D. 106-130)

Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, who restored the fallen fortunes of the dynasty, is regarded as the greatest of all the Sātavāhana kings.[11] His reign made a great impression upon his kingdom. He is reputed to have been the destroyer of the Scythians, Indo-Greeks and Parthians (Śaka-Yavana-Pahlavanisūdana) and the saviour of the Sātavāhana dynasty which, in absence of its strong ruler, fell into evil days. He recovered his family prestige and restored the glory of the family of the Sātavāhanas. He extirpated the Kahaharāta dynasty[12] and overthrew its ruler Nahapāna. The Nasik Cave inscription of queen Gautamī Balaśrī[13] mentions that he was the ruler of Asika (district round Ṛishika-nagara on the Kṛishṇa), Assaka (Asmaka on the Godāvarī), Mulaka (modern Paithan on the Godāvarī), Suratha (Surāshtra), Kukura (western Rājputana), Aparānta (Northern Konkan), Anupa (the Narmadā valley), Vidarbha (Berar), Ākara (Eastern Mālvā), and Avanti in western Mālwā. He is also said to have conquered the Kshatrapa provinces of Ānarta, Śvabhra and Maru.[14] He is also known as the lord of all the mountains from the Vindhyas to the Malaya or Travancore hills and from the Eastern (Mahendra) to Western (Sahya) Ghats. The Nasik Cave inscription refers to him as one, "who conquered multitude of enemies in many battles; whose victorious banner was unvanquished; whose capital was unassailable to his foes; who was in prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhimasena; and who was not inferior in lusture to Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamenjaya, Sāgara, Yayāti and Ambarīsha."

From the Nasik inscription we learn that Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi was also a social reformer. In the inscription he has been described as one "who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, furthered the interest of the twice-born, i.e., the Brāhmaṇas as well as the lowest orders and stopped the contamination of the four varṇas (castes)."[15] The inscription also describes Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi as 'Ekabaṁhana' 'the unique Brāhmaṇa'. Thus the conventional phrases and the epithets applied to him clearly indicate that he was a true follower of Brāhmanism. But from some inscriptions we learn that he also patronised the religion of the Lord Buddha. An inscription[16] dated in the regnal year 24 of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi was found on the eastern wall of the Veranda of the Nasik Cave No. 3. It states that king Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi and Mahādevī Jīvasutā Rājamātā, the great queen, the king's mother, 'whose son is alive' made a grant in the Govardhana district (Nasik) in favour of certain Buddhist monks dwelling in the caves. It describes : "We have here on mount Tiraṇhu formerly given to the mendicant ascetics dwelling in the caves which is a pious gift of ours, a field in the village of Kakhaḍi, but this field is not tilled nor is the village inhabited. Matters being so, that royal village of ours, which is now here on the limit of the town, from that field we give to the mendicant ascetics of of Tiraṇhu one hundred—100—nicartanas of land and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interferred, with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities, invest it with those immunities, and take care that donation of the field and the immunities are duly registered."[17] Another inscription dated in the regnal year 19 of Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi found in the cave at Nasik records that Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, who raised his family to high fortune, as a pious gift, built a cave on the top of Tiraṇhu mountain and the king's mother Mahādevi Gotamī Balaśrī gave it to the Monks of the Bhaddayāniya or Bhadrayāniya sect.[18] It describes that the king's mother Mahādevī Gotamī Balaśri was the donor alone. It is quite certain that she with the king's consent gave the cave to the Bhadrayānika sect,[19] which was probably the most popular sect in his kingdom. This inscription tells us that the king Gotamiputra Sātakarṇi and his mother were the donors. Thus it becomes clear that Buddhism secured an important position during the reign of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. Although the king was a follower of the Brāhmaṇic faith, it becomes evident from the two inscriptions discussed above that Buddhism was patronised by the king and his mother.

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[11] Ibid., p. 200.

[12] Ibid., p. 201; ACHI, p. 312; PHAI, p. 491; EI, VIII, p. 60.

[13] EI, VIII, p. 60.

[14] ACHI, p. 313.

[15] EI, VIII, p. 61.

[16] Ibid., VIII, pp. 73 ff; SL, I, p. 200.

VĀSISTHĪPUTRA PULUMĀVI (c. A.D. 130-159)

The next ruler was Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi, the son of Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. He was an able son of a worthy father. The discovery of his inscription and several of his coins at Amarāvatī in the Deccan does indicate that his empire was extended up to the mouths of the Kṛishṇā river.[20] Epigraphic and numismatic materials prove that his dominions included the Kṛishṇa-Godāvarī region as well as Mahārāṣṭra.[21] His capital was Baithan or Paithan or Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvarī river.[22] This has been identified by scholars with Navanara or Navanagara. The king seems to have ruled for 29 years.

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[17] Ibid., VIII, p. 73; SL, I, p. 200 : " . . .etha amhehi pavate Tiraṇhumhi amhadhamadāne leṇe pativasa tānaṃ pavajitāna bhikhuna gāme Kakhaḍisu pava khetaṁ data ta cha kheta . . . .kasate so cha gāmo na vasati evam sati ya dāni etha nagarasīma rājakam kheta amhasatakaṁ tato etesa pavajitāna bhikkhunaṃ Tereṇhukānam dadāma.
Khetam nivatanasatam 100 tasa cha khetasa parihāra vitarāma apāvesa anemasa aloṇakhādaka araṭhasavinayika savajataparihārika cha
etehi no parthārehi parihareṭha eta chasa khetaparihāre cha etha nibadhāpetha aaviyena . . . ."

[18] Ibid., VIII, p. 60; ibid., I, p. 203 : ". . . . Sikharasadise Tiraṇhupavatasikhare vim varanivisosamahidhika leṇa eta cha leṇa mahādevī mahārāja-mātā mahārājap. . . .tāmahī dadāti nikāyasa Bhadāvaniyānaṁ bhikkhusaṅghaṁ. . . ."

[19] BSI, pp. 197, 221, f.n. 1 and 223 : Most probably the Bhadrayānika sect became very popular in western India in the early centuries of the Christian era. Like the followers of the Sammitīya sect, the Bhadrayānikas admitted that there is a pudgala (an individuality) which is inexpressable and is unchangeable. It is neither identical with the five groups of elements (i.e. skandhas) nor different from them. It is to be cognised by the six forms of vijñānas and is subject to saṁsāra (phenomenal existence). In the Kathāvatthu (P.T.S.) II, 4, the doctrine of anupubbābhisamaya (gradual realisation of the four truths) is attributed to the Bhadrayānikas.

[20] AIU, pp. 204-205.

Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi also evinced interest in Buddhism which attained a great prominence and was patronised by the king, the members of the royal house, nobles and the common people. An inscription belonging to the reign of Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi states that in the year 22 the king gave order to the governor of Govardhana (Nasik) to exchange the village of Ṣudasaṇa given in the nineteenth year for the village of Sāmalipada for the embellishment of the queen's cave. It records : "Siri Pulumāvi Vāsisthīputra commanda Sivakhandila, the officer of Govardhana : the village of Sudasaṇa, here in the Govardhana district on the southern road, which by us, in the 18th year. . .by the samaṇas of Dhanamkaṭa who (dwell) here on mount Tiraṇhu. . .has been given to be owned by Bhikshus of that fraternity the Bhadayāniyas dwelling in the queen's cave, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave meritoriously excavated, ...in exchange for this gift. . .the village of Sudasaṇa. . . . We give the village of Sāmalipada, here in the Govardhana district on the eastern road; and the village of Sāmalipada. . .by the Mahā-Āryaka, you must deliver to be owned by the Bhikshus of the school of the Bhadrayāṅikas dwelling in the queens's cave, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave meritoriously excavated; and to the village of Sāmalipada we grant the immunity belonging to monk's land (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities. With all these immunities you must invest it and this donation of the village of Sāmalipada and the immunities take care to have registered here at Sudasaṇa, ...with a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Vinhupala proclaims the praise of the Lord. Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty the excellent Jina, the Buddha."[23] Thus the inscription bears an adequate testimony to the patronage of Buddhism by king

[21] PHAI, p. 496.

[22] Ibid., p. 496.

[23] EI, VIII, pp. 65-67 :

11. ". . . .Vāsithiputo Siri-Pulumāvi ānapayati Govadhana āmacha Sivakhadila ya amhohi sava 19. . . .
12. . . . .Dhanakatasamanehi ya etha pavate Tira. . . .etha Govadhanahare dakhiṇamage gām. Sudisaṇā bhikhuḥi devileṇaavāseehi nikāyena Bhadayāniyehi patigava dato etasa dānagāmasa Sudasanāma parivatake etha Govadhanahare puvamage.
13. gāma Samalipada dadāma atata mahāairakena odena dhamasetusa leṇesa paṭisatharaṇe akhayanivihetu gāma Samalipada oyapapehi etasa cha gāmasa Samalipadasa bhikhulaparihāra
14. vitarāma apālasa anomasa aloṇa khādaka araṭhasa-vinavika savajāta parihārika cha etehi na parihārehi parihārehi eta cha gāma Samalipada parihāre cha etha nibadhāpehi Sudna gāmasa cha. . . .Govadhanavāthavāne phasa . . . . ye vinhupālena avāṃi yaṇaṇanta nāma bhagatasapatipatasa Jinavarasa Buḍdhaṣa,"

Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi during his rule. Another inscription[24] of his reign, which has been mentioned earlier, records that king Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi constructed a cave on the top of the Tiraṇhu mountain which was given to the monks of the Bhadrayānika sect by the great queen Gautamī Balaśrī. It also says further that for the sake of the embellishment of that cave, with a view to honour and please the great queen his grandmother, her grandson Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi, the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, donated the village Pisājipadaka, on the south-west side of mount Tiraṇhu, to the meritorious donation viz., the cave.[25] On the evidence of these inscriptions it may be easily surmised that king Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi was a true patron of Buddhism and extended his helpful support to the Buddhist community.

Apart from these two inscriptions there are other inscriptions which remind us of the patronage of Buddhism by the people in the reign of Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi. The discovery of these inscriptions in the caves at Karle shows its importance in his reign and it becomes clear that Buddhism flourished to a great extent in the Sātavāhana empire during this period. Different Buddhist sects like the Mahāsaṅghika, the Bhadrayānika etc. arose and maintained their existences with full vigour and prosperity under the noble care of the king and his subjects who as loyal and devoted followers played important roles in furthering the cause of Buddhism. An inscription found in a cave at Karle records : "on the second day of the third fortnight of winter in the 24th year of king Śrī Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi, this pious gift of the lay worshipper Harpharaṇa, son of Setapharaṇa, a Sovasaka, living in Abulāmā, a nine-celled hall, has been given to the Universal Saṅgha, as special property of the Mahāsaṅghikas[26] in honour of his parents and

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[24] Ibid., VIII, p. 60; SL, I, p. 203.

[25] EI, VIII, p. 60 :
"....etasa cha ſenasa chitananimita mahādeviya ayakāye sevakāme piyakāmo cha vatpathesara pitupati dhamasetisa dadāti gāma Tiranhupavatasa aparadakhinapase Pisūjipadākaṁ savajātabhoganiraṭhi...."

[26] BIA, p. 99.
Just after the Second Buddhist Council some Vajjian (or Vesalian) monks did not want to remain with the Saṅgha of the Theravādins or Sthaviravādins and they formed a new Saṅgha known as the Mahāsaṅghika and they were known as the Mahāsaṅghikas (EMB, II, p. 44) or the 'monks of the great congregation.' The Second Buddhist Council marked the first division in the Saṅgha. This was due to the differences of opinion relating to the practice of ten rules of discipline by monks. Thus there arose in the Saṅgha at that time two sects—orthodox and unorthodox. After some time these two sects were divided into several sects.
The original home of the Mahāsaṅghikas was Magadha. One group of the Mahāsaṅghikas after leaving Magadha went to settle in Northern and North-western India. This branch later was split up into five sects....the Ekavyavahārika, the Kaukaiika (or Gokulika), the Bahuśrutiya, the Paajñapativāda and the Lokottaravāda (BSI, p. 68). Another group of the Mahāsaṅghikas went to South India and made its home at the Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh (Ibid., p. 68). Its branches were....the Purvasaila, the Aparaśaila, the Uttaraśaila, the Caityika, etc.

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for securing the welfare and happiness of all beings . . . ."[27] Another inscription at Karle states : "In the seventh year of the king lord Vāsisthīputra Śrī Pulumāvi, in the fifth fortnight of summer . . . by the Mahāraṭhī Somadeva, son of Vāsisthi, the son of the Mahāraṭhī Mitadeva, son of Kosiki, of the Okhahakiyas, there was given to the community of the Bhikkhus of Valūraka. Of the Valūraka caves, a village with its taxes ordinary and extraordinary with its income fixed . . . ."[28]

YAJÑAŚRĪ SĀTAKARṆI (c. A.D. 174-203)

After Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi Śiva Śrī Pulomā Sātakarṇi (A.D. 159-166) ascended the throne.[29] The latter was succeeded by Śivaskaṇḍa Sātakarṇi (A.D. 167-174).[30] The next ruler was Yajñaśrī or Yajña Sātakarṇi, the last great king of the Sātavāhana dynasty.[31] From his inscription[32] found at Nasik in Mahārāshtra, Kaṇheri in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) and Chinna-Ganjam in the Kṛishṇā district and from his coins discovered in Gujarat, Kāthiāwār, Aparānta, the

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Vaiśāli (Vasālī) and Pāṭaliputra, the two important cities of the kingdom of Magadha, were the places where the influence of the Mahāsaṅghikas was very prominent. I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, states that they were in Magadha, in Lāṭa and Sindhu and in some places in Northern, Southern and Eastern India. (ARBRIMA, pp. XXXII-XXXIII). The Amarāvatī and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions mention that they had a canon of their own and it was composed in Prakrit (HB, II, p. 100; BIA, p. 98). Hiuen Tsang refers to the division of their canon into five parts . . . . Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Dhāraṇi and Saṃyukta (OYC, II, p. 160).

According to the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Buddhas were lokottara (supra-mundane) and were composed of pure dharmas. Their body, span of life and powers were unlimited. They had kṣayjñāna (knowledge of decay) as well as anutpādajñāna (knowledge of non-origination) up to the time of the attainment of their Mahāparinibbāna. They believed that the birth of the Buddhas took place not like ordinary beings. They entered the wombs of their mothers in the shape of white elephants and came out from the womb at the time of birth from the right side of their mothers. They held the view that Arhats had no chance of fall from Arhathood. They, like the Theravādins, accepted caturāryasatyas (the four noble truths), āryāṣṭaṅgikamarga (noble eightfold path), pratītyasamutpāda (dependent origination), non-existence of skandhas, impermanence of the soul, the thirty-seven bodhipaksiyadharmas, seven bodhyaṅgas and the gradual stages of spiritual progress.

[27] EI, VII, pp. 71-72 :
". . . .raño Vāsithiputasa Siri-Pulumāvisa savachhare chatuvisa 24 hemamtāna pakkha tattiya 3 divase bi tiye 2 upāsakas Harapharaṇasa Setapharaṇa. . . .puttasya sa(va)sakesya abulāmāya vathavasya ima deyadhama maḍapo navagabha Mahāsaghiyānaṁ parigaho saghe chātudise dina mātāpitunam pūjā savasatānaṁ hitasughasithataye. . . ."

[28] Ibid., VII, p. 61 :
"Raño Vāsithiputasa Sāmisirip . . , . e savacchare satame 7 (g)imhapakkha pachame 5. . . . etāya puvāya okhaḷakiyāna Mahārathisa Kosikiputasa Mitadevasa putena . . . . hārithinā Vāsithiputena Somadevena gāmo dato Valurakosaghasa Valurakalenāna sakarukhare sadaya. . . ."

[29] PHAI, p. 497.

[30] Ibid., p. 497.

[31] Ibid., p. 497.

[32] EI, VIII, pp. 93 ff; JBBRAS, V, pp. 25 ff; AIU, p. 206.

Ćhanda district of Madhya Pradesh and the Kṛishṇā district of the Madras state, we may conclude that not only Mahārāshtra, Andhra country, Gujarat and some parts of the Narmadā valley were under his rule, but he was able to recover Aparānta from the Śaka successors of Rudradāman I. His coins marked with the figure of a ship give us an indication that his power even extended over the sea.[33] He is identified by some scholars with the Sātavāhana king as mentioned by Bāṇa. Bāṇa, the famous writer,[34] refers to him as 'trisamudrādhipati' and as a close friend of a monk named Nāgārjuna. Hiuen Tsang[35] also says that king Sha-to-p'oha (Sātavāhana) or Yin Leng (Leading Light) was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna p'usa, the expounder of the Mādhyamika Philosophy, who from the Sātavāhana king received a monastery on the mountain Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, 300 li to the south-west of the capital of Kośala.

An inscription in the caves at Nasik describes : "Success ! on the first day of the third—3rd—fortnight of winter, in the seventh—7th—year of the king, the Lord Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi, son of Gotamī, the Mahāsenāpati Vāsu, wife of the Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa, of the Kausiki family, has completed and given, as an abode of the Universal Saṅgha of monks, this cave which had been excavated for many years, but, after having been created by the ascetic Bopaki, had remained uncompleted."[36]

From the descriptions of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang and from his inscription at Nasik we may draw the conclusion that Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi patronised Buddhism and showed his great reverence to it. During his reign it flourished and several monks well-versed in Buddhist sacred texts and philosophy lived in the cave at the sacred Kaṇha hill. Among them the most prominent were the venerable Acala, the venerables Gopāla, the venerable Vijayamitra, the venerable Bo, the venerable devotee Dharmapāla Aparenu, the venerable Sahalo, etc.[37] We also learn from another inscription[38] that king Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi's nephew Nagakaṇḍa, in union with his brother Ānanda and along with Gajasena and Gajamitra, established two Buddha images and a refectory (bhojanamatapas) for the monks for the benefit of his relatives. All these facts show that Buddhism prospered in the reign of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. A stūpa pillar fragment bearing an inscription of his reign

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33. PHAI, p. 498.
34. ACHI, p. 323.
35. Ibid., p. 323.
36. EI, VIII, p. 94 :
    1. "Sidhaṁ raño Gotamiputasa sāmi—Siriyaña—Sātakaṇisa saṁvachchare satame 7 hematāṇe pakho tatiya 3
    2. divase pathamo kosikasa mahāsenāpatisa Bhavagopasa bharijāya mahāsenāpatiṇiya vasuya leṇa
    3. Bopakiyati sujamāna apayavasitasamāne bahukāni varisāni ukute payavāsanaṃto chātudi
    4. sāsa cha bhikkhusaghasa āvāso dato ti."
37. JBBRAS, V, 1857, p. 26.
38. Ibid., V, 1857, p. 26.

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found at Chinna-Ganjam in the Guntur district was found.[39] Thus it indicates the progress of Buddhism in his reign in this region. It is to be noted that during the rule of the Sātavāhana kings Buddhism not only flourished to a great extent but it reached the zenith of its popularity. Though they were followers of the Brāhmanical religion they actively supported it and gave their full co-operation and patronage to its progress. That is why, several inscriptions refer to the establishment of rockcut caityas and vihāras, stūpas, refectory, hall of reception (upathānasāla), the offering of villages, lands and money to the monks as grants and the enlargement and embellishment of several religious buildings by the Sātavāhana kings, their feudatories and officials. This is no doubt an important achievement of Buddhism during the Sātavāhana period.

After the death of Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi the fame and the glory of the Sātavāhana empire began to decline. It was split up into a number of separate small principalities under the leadership of princes of the royal blood. The Ābhiras conquered North-western Mahārāshtra from them.[40] The later Sātavāhanas kings ruled in Berar, the Eastern Deccan and the Kannarese country.[41] But gradually their rule in the Sātavāhana empire was supplanted by other ruling powers in the Deccan like the Vākāṭakas, the Ikshvākus, the Śālaṅkāyanas, the Pallavas, the Kadambas, etc.

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

THE IKSHVĀKUS

The Ikshvākus, who were probably the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, captured the regions round about the mouths of the rivees Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī from the latter at the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D.[42] They are known from inscriptions of the second half of the third century A.D. found on the ruins of the Jaggayyapeta stūpa in the Nandigrām taluk of the Kṛishṇā district and also at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Gurzala in the Guṇtūr district.[43] These Ikshvākus[44] of the Andhra country had probably some connection with the celebrated Ikshvāku family of Ayodhyā, the capital of the Kośala janapada in the north. Thus D.C. Sircar[45] observes : "The extension of the name of 'Kośala', where the Ikshvākus ruled, over the modern Raipur . . . Bilaspur . . . Sambalpur region in the Dakshiṇāpatha (cf. Kauśalaka-Mahendra mentioned as a daksiṇapatha-rāja in the Allahabad Pillar inscription) and the tradition recording the establishment of Kuśa, son of the Ikshvāku hero Rāma, at Kuśāvatī to the south of the Vindhya and the Reva (Raghuvaṃśa, XVI, 31) probably go to prove a southerly course of Ikshvāku expansion. According to the Vāyu Purāṇa (99, 199), Kuśa ruled over Kośala with his capital at Kuśasthalī or Kuśāvatī built upon the Vindhyan precipices. It may also be noticed that the southern kingdoms of Aśmaka and Mulaka (on the Godāvarī) were traditionally known to have been founded by two Ikshvāku princes named Aśmaka and Mulaka (Vāyu Purāṇa, 88, 177-8). The History of the Ikshvākus, Kekayas, Mālavas, Śibis, Mauryas and the Aśmakas and stories of the sons of Viśvāmitra, and of Rāma, Vijaya, the sage Bāvari and others may all be very important in dealing with the Aryanisation of Southern India. But while we have reliable evidence of the migration of the Mālavas (Maloi of the Greeks; on the lower valley of the Ravi in Alexander's time) and the Śibis (Siboi of the Greeks; in Alexander's time in the Shorkot region of the Jhan district, Punjab), and also of the Mauryas and the Guptas, from north to south . . . there is no satisfactory evidence as regards the migration of the other families of tribes . . . . . It can hardly be doubted that the Mauryas of Konkan and the Guttas (Guptas) of Guttala were branches respectively of the famous imperial dynasties of those names that ruled at Pāṭaliputra . . . ." From it we can surmise that it might not be impossible for the Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā to migrate to Southern India. An inscription[46] of the Southern Ikshvāku king Vīrapuriṣadata, which mentions the epithet 'Ikhāku-rāja-pravara-risi-satapabhava-vaṃsa-sambhava' probably applied to Lord Buddha, refers to a claim of the king to belong to the same family as Lord Buddha, who is recorded in Buddhist traditions[47] as a member of the famous Ikshvāku family of Kośala. Like the Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā, who established matrimonial relations with the Kakayas of Girivraja or Rājagṛha in the Punjab, the Southern Ikshvākus were matrimonially connected with the Southern Kakayas, probably a ruling family of ancient Mysore.[48]

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[39] ACHI, p. 319.
[40] PHAI, p. 498.
[41] Ibid., p. 499.
[42] ACHI, p. 333; AIU, p. 224.
[43] SSLD, p. 9; PHAI, p. 500, f.n. 1; EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 1; XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 123-125; IA, XI, 1882, pp. 256-259.
[44] SSLD, p. 10; ACHI, p. 333,
[45] Ibid., p. 11, f.n. 2.

VĀSISTHĪPUTRA ŚĀNTAMŪLA I

The founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty of the Andhra country was Śāntamūla or Cāṃtamūla I, who ruled in the second quarter of the third century A.D.[49] The Purāṇas[50] refer to the Ikshvākus as Śrī-Pārvatīya Andhras. Their capital was located in the city of Vijayapuri which was situated in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley (in the Nallamalur range) known as Śrīparvata in ancient days. Cāṃtamūla I is said to have performed the Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, Vajapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices. The performance of all these sacrifices shows that he was a powerful king and was a follower of the Brāhmanical faith. He was also a devotee of Svāmi-Mahāsena i.e., Skanda-Kārttikeya. King Cāṃtamūla I, the founder and the first ruler of the dynasty, seems to have revived the Brāhmanical religion

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[46] Ibid., p. 10; EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 22.

[47] MN, II, 124.

[48] AHD, pp. 88, 101; SSLD, p. 10; PHAI, p. 500, f.n. 1.

[49] PHAI, p. 500, f.n. 1; SSLD, p. 17; AIU, p. 224; ACHI, p. 334.

[50] AIU, p. 224; ACHI, p. 333.

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during his reign. But this revival was shortlived. Because Cāṃtamūla's immediate successor Śrī-Vīrapuruṣadata who was a virtuous person repudiated his father's religious policy and became inclined towards the Buddhist faith.[51]

MĀTHARĪPUTRA VĪRAPURIṢADATA (VĪRAPURUSADATTA)

King Cāṃtamūla I was succeeded by his son Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata (or Vīrapuruṣadatta) in the third quarter of the third century A.D.[52] He probably ruled for about twenty years. By establishing matrimonial alliances with the powerful royal houses of Ujjain and Vanavāsi in the North Kanara district, he had strengthened his political position in the Andhra region. Mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā,[53] one of his queens, was a daughter of the Mahārāja of Ujjain. She was related to Rudrasena II (c. 254-274 A.D.), the contemporary Śaka Mahākshatrapa of Western India. King Vīrapuruṣadatta gave his daughter in marriage to the Vanavāsaka-mahārāja or the king of Vanavāsi, who was probably a ruler of Chuṭu-Śātakarṇi family of Kuntala.[54]

King Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata's reign is a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Southern India. It was largely through his efforts the religion of Śākyamuni flourished and was able to occupy the most important place in the religious history of South India. He was a great admirer of the Buddha, as is shown by his abovementioned inscription[55] in which he claims that he belonged to the same family as the Lord Buddha. Several inscriptions belonging to his reign have been discovered at Jaggayyapeta in the Kṛishṇā district and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guṇṭūr district. The inscriptions refer to private donations of pious men and women to some Buddhist establishments at Jaggayyapetta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. They are of great importance for the study of Buddhism during the Ikshvāku period. The records of these inscriptions are adequate testimonies to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the reign of king Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata. Most of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions refer to the benefactions made by some female members of the royal family of the Ikshvāku dynasty to the Mahācetiya, the Great Monastery of the capital city of Vijayapuri. Probably, these ladies were Buddhists. These inscriptions indicate that this capital Vijayapuri and its surrounding places were great centres of the religion of the Buddha. N. Dutt observes : "Just as Bodh-Gayā grew up on the bank of the Nerañjarā as a very early centre of Hīnayāna and a place of pilgrimage for the early Buddhists, as also did Amarāvatī (extending to Jaggaypeta) and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the bank of the Kṛiṣṇā (including its tributary Paler) as a flourishing centre of proto-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna in the pre-Christian and the early Christian era and a place of

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51. ACHI, pp. 333-334.
52. Ibid., p. 334; AIU, p. 225; SSLD, pp. 23-24.
53. Ibid., p. 334; ibid., p. 225; ibid., pp. 22-23; ANHIP, VI, p. 66.
54. Ibid., p. 334; ibid., p. 225; ibid., pp. 23-24.
55. SSLD, p. 10.

pilgrimage for the later Buddhists."[56] He further points out that Amarāvāti, Jaggayyapata and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa became important centres of the Mahāsaṅghikas in the first century B C. or A.D.[57] The Amarāvati stūpa was built and enlarged between circa second century B.C. and second century A.D.[58] But the stūpas of Jaggayyapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were constructed, according to Burgess and Vogel, in the third or the fourth century A.D. respectively.[59] It should be noted here that the inscriptions of the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata were not his official documents but they record the private donations made by pious men, women and some female members of the royal family in favour of the Buddhist establishments. Practically, they were private records of the devotees of Buddhism in his reign. They do not mention anything about the King's religion and his services to Buddhism. But at the same time no record refers to him as a performer of any Brāhmanical sacrifice or his great respect for the Brahmanical god Mahāsena. The King's claim of having belonged to the same family as the Lord Buddha and several donations to the Buddhist establishments made by certain ladies of the royal house are clear indications that not only the king was an ardent follower of Buddhism but he also gave his permission to the female members of the royal family to do something for the progress of Buddhism. Without his patronage it would not have been possible for the religion to attain such an exalted position and popularity during his reign. Probably, the king's leanings towards Buddhism had helped it to reach the height of its glory during the period.

Now let us study some of the inscriptions assigned to the period of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata which throw a flood of light on the state of Buddhism in the contemporary Ikshvāku kingdom. The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 3 belonging to the reign of Śri Vīrapuriṣadata[60] states : "Success ! adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, Omniscient, Compassionate towards all the sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion which have been conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, the perfectly Enlightened One, who is absorbed by the best of elements (i.e., by Nirvāṇa). At the Mahācheṭiya, the Mahātālavari Cha(ṃ) tisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṣthīputra Ikhāku Siri Chā (ṃ) tamūla-absorbed by Mahāsena the Lord of Lirūpakhas, the giver of crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land), unipeded of purpose in all (his) aims, (she who is) the paternal aunt of king Mādharīputa Siri Vīrapuriṣadata, (she who is) the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara, Vāsiṭhiputa Kaṁdasiri of (the family of) the Pūkīyas;[61] and the

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56. IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 633.
57. BSI, pp. 66-67.
58. Ibid., p. 67; SSLD, p. 37; EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 2.
59. Ibid., p. 67; ibid., p. 37; ibid., XX, p. 2; ASSI, 1887, pp. 112-113.
60. EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 17.
61. ANHIP, VI, p. 65 :
According to R.C. Mazumdar and A.S. Altekar, the word Pukiya had some connections with the Pungi district of southern Guṇtūr and the adjoining region.

mother of Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka, she who, out of compassion for Śramaṇas, Brāhmins, and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them a matchless flow and ceaseless flow of Velāmic gifts, she the great mistress of munificence devoted to all the virtuous, having due regard for the past, future and present (members) of both the houses to which she belongs for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by all the world, has erected this pillar. In the sixth year of the reign of king Siri Vīra Purisadata. . . . "[62]

The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 2 of the reign of Śrī Vīrapuriṣadata[63] describes : "Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevī Bapasiriṇikā (who is) the daughter of Hammasiriṇika, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsisthiputra Ikhāku Siri-Chātamūla and (who is) the wife of king Siri Vīrapuriṣadata, with due regard for his mother Hammasiriṇikā, and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect has this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya been accepted. This pious foundation, consisting of the Mahachetiya, has been completed and the pillars have been set up by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the Dīgha and the Majjhima (nikāyas) by heart, (who is) a disciple of the Masters of the Ārya-saṁgho who are resident in Paṁnagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the Dīgha and Majjhima (nikāyas) and of the five Mātukas. In the sixth year of (the reign of) king Siri Vīrapuriṣadata. . . "[64] The Aparamahāvinaseliya or the Aparamahā vanasailiya should be taken as Aparāśaila, a subsect of the Mahāsaṅghika sect.[65] This Aparaśaila was also known as Caityika or Caityaka. Its adherents used to worship the caityas (the stūpas) and that is why it had received its name. Because of its establishment and popularity in the Andhra country, it was known as the Andhaka.[66] The Andhaka or the Caityika or the Aparaśaila sect[67] held that the worship of caityas, the construction of caityas, and a circumambulation of caityas could bring merits. According to it, the Buddhas were free from attachment, delusion and ill-will. For their ten powers, they were placed in better position than the Arhats. This sect believed that Nirvāṇa is a positive faultless state. There is a reference to the Ayirahaghāna or the Ayirahaṁgha or the Āryasaṁgha in the above mentioned inscription. N. Dutt has identified it with the Mahāsaṅghika.[68] According to Dr. Dutt, "The whole Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunikoṇḍā belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas."[69] But his opinion cannot be accepted in full in view of the fact that several Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of king Ehuvula Cāṁtamūla II record the erection of pillars and monasteries for the benefit of the Masters of the Bahuśrutiya or the Bahusutiya and the Mahiśāsaka sects.[70] The inscription of Śri Vīrapuriṣadata refers to the epithets like, 'Dīgha-Manigoya-dharana' (or 'the preachers and preceptors of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas), Dīgha-majhima-nikāya-dharena, etc. The use of such appellations points to the existence of Suttapiṭaka division of Pali literature. N. Dutt remarks[71] : "Possibly the inscriptions were concerned with a Buddhist sect which was not exactly the Theravāda (the Pali school) but had a literature and tradition very similar to those of the Theravāda school."[72] The inscription also records the expression Paṁda mātuka or Pañca-mātuka. Dr. Dutt

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[62] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 16 :
"L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja sakatasa supabudhabudhino savamñuno
L. II. Sava-sat-ānukampakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgani—vasabha
L. III. (gaṃ)dha hathisa saṁma-saṁ(budh)asa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mah(ā)chetiye mahārajasa.
L. IV. Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa hiraṇa-koti-go-satasahass-hala-sa
L. V. tasaha(sa)dāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa vāsiṭhiputasa Ikhākusa
L. VI. Siri-Chātamūlasa sodarā bhaginiramño Māḍharīputasa Siri Vīrapuriṣadatasa
L. VII. pituchhā mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Vāsidhīputasa Pūkiyānaṁ Kaṁdasiri(sa)
L. VIII bhariyā samaṇabam(h)aṇa-Kavaṇa-vaṃjaka-din-ānugaha-velāmiko-dāna-paṭibhagavo
L. IX. Chimnadhāra-padāyini savā-sādhu-vāchhalā mahādānapatiṁ mahātalavari Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka mātā
L. X. Ch(ā)tisiri apano ubhaya-kulasa ati-chhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānakanaṁ parināmetunaṁ
L. XI. ubhayo-loka-hita-sukha-āvaha-thanāya atano cha nivāṇa saṁpati-saṁpādake
L. XII. sava-loka-hita-sukh-āvaha-thanāya cha imaṁ khaṁbhaṁ patithapitaṁ ti
L. XIII. Ramño Siri-Vīrapurisadatasa sava 6. . . ."

[63] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 20.

[64] Ibid., XX, p. 19 :
"L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja sakatasa saṁma-saṁma-sambudh a sa dhātuvara
L. II. parigahitasa Mahāchetiye mahārajasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa

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L. III. Agihot-Āgiṭhogithoma vājapey-Āsameddha-yājisa hiraṇa-koṭi-go-sata
L. IV. sahasa-hala-satasahasa padāyisa savathesu apatihata saṁkapasa
L. V. Vāsiṭhiputasa Ikhākusa Siri Chātamūlasa sodarāya bhaginiya Haṁma
L. VI. siriṁnikāya bālikā ramño Siri-Vīrapuriṣadatasa bhayā mahādevi Bapisiriṇikā
L. VIII Imaṁ sela-thaṁbham patithapitam achari(yā)naṁ Apari-mahāvinaseliyānaṁ suparigahita(ṁ)
L. IX. Imaṁ Mahāchetiya-nava-kamaṁ Paṁnagāmavathavānaṁ Dīgha-Majhima-paṁda m(ā)tukadesa(ka-vā) (chakānaṁ)
L. X. arayāma(m) Ayira-haghanā(ṁ)amte--vāsikena Dīgha-Manigaya dharena bhadaṁt Ānaṁdena
L. XI. niṭhapita(ṁ) ima(ṁ) navakama(ṁ) mahā-chetiya(ṁ) khambhā cha ṭhapitā ti ramño Sari Virapuriṣadatasa
L. XII. saṁva 6. . . ."

65. BSI, p. 52.
66. Ibid., p. 54.
67. BIA, pp. 100-101.
68. IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 647-648; SSLD, p. 24.
69. IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 648-649.
70. EI, XX, 1929-30, pp. 24 and 61-62 :
"Imaṁ savajātaniyūto vihāro achariyānaṁ Bahusutiyāna(ṁ) patiṭṭhapito. . . ."
". . .ayaṁ Devī-vihār(o)savajataṁyuto ajariyānaṁ (Ba)husutiy(ā)na(ṁ) patiṭhapito. . ."
". . .imaṁ khaniyaṁ vihāra cha achariyānaṁ Mahi(sā)sakānaṁ suparigahe chātudisaṁ sa(ṁ)ghaṁ udisāya sava-satānaṁ hita-sukh(ā)thaṁ ṭhāpitaṁ achariye."
71. IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 642.
72. Ibid., VII, pp. 642-646; BSI, p. 63.

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further observes : "It is an irregular form of Pañca-mātṛikā (Pali : mātikā). The term 'mātikā' denotes the detailed contents of an Abhidhamma text. It is used also to indicate a complete Abhidhamma text. Hence, it may be surmised that the 'Pañcamātukā' refers to five and not seven of the Abhidhamma texts. Perhaps the two texts omitted are the Paṭṭhāna and the Kathāvatthu, which were later added to the Abhidhamma texts. Among the Vinaya texts enlisted in Nangio's Catalogue there are four works with mātṛkā as a part of their titles though none of them blong to the Mahāsaṅghikas. J. Przyluski writes that the māhāsaṅghikas had a particular fancy for the number 'five', specially in connection with the Vinaya texts. Mātṛkā was used by the ancient compilers to denote the Vinaya Piṭaka as much as the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, hence the word 'pañca-mātuka' of the inscription may well mean the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mahāsaṅghikas, whose texts also had five divisions like the other schools."

The Āyaka Pillar inscription B 2 of Śrī Vīrapuriṣadata's reign records[73] : "Success ! The Mahātalavarī Adavichātisiri (who is) the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputa Ikhāku Siri Chāṁtamūla, the offerer of Aśvamedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land), of unimpeded purpose in all (his aims); (who is) the sister of King Siri Vīrapuriṣadata (and who is) the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara the Mahādandanāyaka Khaṁdaviśakhaṁnaka (of the family) of the Dhanakas, having due regard for both the houses to which she belongs and for the attainment by herself and happiness in both the worlds, has erected this pillar at the Mahāchetiya of the Lord, the supreme Buddha who is absorbed by the best elements (i.e. by Nirvāṇa). In the sixth year of (the reign of) king Śrī Vīrapuriṣadata".

The Āyaka Pillar inscription B 4 of Śrī Vīrapuriṣadata's reign says[74] : "Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, enlightened with perfect enlightenment, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, absorbed by the best of elements (i.e., Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiya, the Mahāsenāpatini chulachātasiriṇikā (who is) a daughter of (the family of) the Kulahakas and the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara, Vāsiṭhīputa Khaṁdachalikireṁmaṇaka of (the family of) the Hiraṁṇakas,[75] for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa has created this stone pillar. In the sixth year of (the reign of) king Siri Vīrapuriṣadatta . . . .”[76]

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[73] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 18:

"L. I. Sidhaṁ mahārajasa-Asvamedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṁṇa-kṭoi-go-satasahasa-hala-sata
L. II. sahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁka-pasa Vāsithiputasa Ikhākusa
L. III. Siri-Chā(ṁ)tamūlasa duhulā ramño Siri-Vīrapuriṣadatasa bhagini mahāsenāpatisa mahā
L. IV. talavarasa mahādaṁḍanāyakasa Dhanakānaṁ Khaṁdavisākhaṁṇakasa bhayā mahātalavari
L. V. Aḍavi-chātisiri apāno ubhaya kulaṁ parināme (tū)na atano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukho-āva hathanāya-
L. VI. bhagavaṭo saṁna-sabudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa Mahāchetiya imaṁ Khaṁbhaṁ patidhapaṁta ti
L. VII. raṁño Siri—Vīrapurisadata sa saṁva 6 vā-pa 6 diva 10.".

[74] Ibid., XX, 1929-30, pp. 18-19.

The Āyaka Pillar inscription B 5 of the reign of Śrī Vīrapuriṣadata states[77] : “Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, enlightened with perfect enlightenment, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders absorbed by the best of elements (i.e. Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevi Rudradharabhaṭārikā, a Mahārāja's daughter from Ujjeni (skt. Ujjaini) has erected this stone pillar for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvāṇa. And while the Mahāchetiya of this Great Vihāra was being raised by the ladies, the Mahātalavaras, Chāṁtisiriṇikā of (the family of) the Pūkīyas one hundred and seventy (100+70) dīnāri-māṣakas[78] and a pillar have been raised by the Mahātalavarī. In the sixth year of (the reign of) king Siri Vīrapuriṣadatta . . . .”[79]

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[75] ANHIP, VI, p. 65 :
R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar opine that the Hiraṇyaka family was connected with the Hiraṇyarāshṭra of the northern and western parts of the Nellore district and the adjacent area.

[76] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 18 :
“L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha bo(dhino) savamñuno sava-sa(t-ā)
L. II. nukaṁpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahā-gaṇi-vasabhagaṁdha ha(thisā)
L. III sam̐ma-saṁbudhasa dhātuvara-pari-gahitasa mahācheti (ye) kulahakāna(m) bālikā
L. IV. mahāsenāpatisa mahā·alavarasa Vāsiṭhīputasa Hiramṇakānaṁ khaṁda chalikireṁ-maṇaka(sa)
L. V. bhayā mahāsenāpatiṁ chula-chāti-siriṇikā apano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-ni
L. VI. vāṇathanāya imaṁ sela-khaṁbhaṁ patiṭhapitaṁ ti raṁño Siri Vīrapurisadattasa
L. VII. saṁva 6 va pa 6 diva 10.”

[77] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 19.

[78] SLLD, p. 27 :
“Māṣaka was the 1/15 part of the standard suvarna. May dīnāra-māṣaka be 1/16 of a dīnāra (about 124 gr.) in weight (or value). It is interesting to note that some gold fanams are found to be 7.7 gr. in weight.”

[79] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 19 :
“L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bhagavata devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savaṁñuno sava-sat-(ānu-)
L. II. kaṁpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṃdha-hadisa
L. III. saṁma-saṁbudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahāchetiye Ujanika mahāra-balikā
L. IV. mahādevi Ridradharabhaṭ(ā)rikā imaṁ sela-khaṁbhaṁ apano hita-sukha-nivāṇadha-nāya patiṭh(ā)pitaṁ
L. V. mahātalavārihi cha Pūkiyānaṁ chāṁtisiriṇikāhi imasa mahāvihārasa mahācheti-yaṁ
L. VI. samuthapiyamāne mahātalavaria ubhayitā dināri-māsakā satari-sataṁ 100+70 khambho cha
L. VII. raṁño Siri-Vīrapurisadatasa saṁva 6 va pa 6 diva 10.”

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The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 4 of the reign of Śrī Vīrapurișadata also states[80] : "Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevī Chhaṭhisiri (skt. Shashṭhī-śrī) (who is) the daughter of Haṁmasiri, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputra Ikhāku Siri-Chāṁtamūls—absorbed by Mahāsena the Lord of Virūpakhas, the giver of crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land), unimpeded of purpose in all (his) aims, (she who is) the paternal aunt of king Māḍharīputa Siri Vīrapurișadata and (she who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍharīputa Siri Vīrapurișadata, with due regard for her mother Haṁmasiriṇikā and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this pillar. In the sixth year of (the reign of) king Siri Vīrapurișadata . . . ."[81]

The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 5 of Śrī Vīrapurișadata's reign says[82] : Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the supreme Buddha, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahātalavari (who is) the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara Vāsiṭhīputa Mahākaṁdasiri of (the family of) the Pūkīyas and (who is) the mother of the Māhasenāpati, the Mahātalavara Viṇhusiri (Skt. Vishṇuśrī), with due regard to both the families to which she belongs, and for the sake of her own welfare and happiness in both the worlds and Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. In the sixth year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Siri-Vīrapurisadata . . . ."[83]

The Second Apsidal Temple inscription F of the reign of Śrī Vīrapurișadata says[84] : "Success ! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, born of a race (which is) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikhāku's lineage; who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Māra's hosts called lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion and hatred; who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the wheel of the Law (pertaining to) the Eight-fold Path, whose graceful and wellformed feet (are marked with) the sign of the wheel, whose splendour is that of the newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world. In the fourteenth—14th—(year) of king Māṭharīputa, in the sixth—6th—fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth—13th—day. For the benefit of the . . . masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Tambapaṁṇa (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta (Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaraṁta (Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and the Isle of Tambapaṁni (Ceylon). At Siripavata (Skt. Śrīparvata) on the east side of Vijayapuri at the convent on the Lesser Dhammagiri a Chaitya hall with a flooring of slabs, with a chaitya and provided with all the necessaries, was caused to be made by the female lay-member Bodhisiri (Skt. Boshiśrī) for the sake of her own husband Budhimnaka, and of his father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma and of his mother Buddhaṁnikā and his brothers Chaṁdaṁukhana, Karumbudhina (and) Haghaṁna and of (his) sister Revatiṁnikā and of (his) brother's sons Mahā Chaṁdamukha (Skt. Mahā-Chandramukha) and Chula-Chamdamukha (Skt. Kshudra-Chamdramukha) and of (his) sister's sons Mahā-Mūla and Chūla-Mūla, and (for the sake) of her own grandfather Mūla-Vāniya and of her grandmother Budha-Vānikinā and of her maternal uncles, the treasurer Bhada (Skt. Bhadra), Bodhisaṁma (Skt. Bodhiśarman), Chaṁda (Skt. Chandra) (and) Bodhika, and of her maternal grandmother . . . Bodhi and of her own father Budhi-Vāniya and of her mother . . . of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhaṁnikā, Mūlaṁnikā and Nāgabodhinikā, of her daughter Vīraṁnikā, of her sons Nāgaṁna and Vīraṁna and of her daughter-in-law Bhadasiri (Skt. Bhadraśrī) and Misi (Skt. Miśrī). And even thus wise a chaitya-hall at the Kulaha-vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhala-vihāra one—1—cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a maṇḍava-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah and maṇḍava at Puvasela (Skt. Purvaśaila), a stone maṇḍava at the eastern gate of the great chaitya at Kaṇṭakasela (Skt. Kaṇṭakaśaila), three—3—cells at Hiramuṭhuva, seven—7—cells at Papilā, a stone maṇḍava at Puphagiri (Skt. Pushpagiri) – a stone maṇḍava at the—vihāra. And all this above described has been dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world. This work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the thera Chaṁdamukha, and the thera Dhaṁnanandi and the thera Nāga. (It is) the work of the stone mason Vidhika."[85]

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[80] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 20.

[81] Ibid., XX, 1929-30, p. 20 :

"L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja saka-tasa saṁma-sambudhasa dhātuvarapari-gaṁhitasa
L. II. mahādetiyaṁhi mahārajasa virūpa-khapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Agihāta
L. III. Agiṭhoma-vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa-hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-sata
L. IV. sahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāsiṭhīputasa Ikhākusa
L. V. Siri-Chāṁtamūlasa sodāra-bhaginiya Haṁmasariya bālikā mahārajasa
L. VI. Māḍharīputasa Siri-Vīrapurisadatasa bhayā mahādevi Chhaṭhi-siri apano
L. VII. mātaraṁ Haṁmasirinikam parināmetuna atanaṁ cha nivāṇa-saṁpati-saṁpadake imaṁ bhaṁkhaṁ
L. VIII. patithapitam mahārājasa Siri-Vīrapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6 diva 10."

[82] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 21.

[83] Ibid., XX, 1929-30, p. 20 :

"L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato saṁma-sambu(dha)sa dhātuvara-parigahitasa Mahāchetiye
L. II. mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavara sa Vāsiṭhīputasa Pūkīyanaṁ Mahākaṁdasirisa
L. III. bhayā mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa viṇhusirisa mātā mahātalavari apano
L. IV. ubhayakulaṁ parināmetu(na) atano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathaya cha imaṁ
L. V. selakhaṁbhaṁ patithapitam mahārajasa Siri-Vīrapurisadatasa saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10."

[84] Ibid., XX, 1929-30, p. 23.

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85. EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 22 :
"L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato Ikhākuraja-pavara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṁsa·saṁbhavasa-deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-dosa-sada(ā)pita-Māra-bala dapa-māna-pamana karasa-dasa-bala-maha (ā)bala-sa atha(ṁ)-ga-maga-dhamachaka-pava-takasa chakalokhaṇa sukumāra-sujata-charaṇa-sa taruṇa-divasa kasa-pabhasa sarada-sasi-soma-dari-sanasa-sava-loka-chita-ma-hitasa-Budhasa-raṁño (āṭha)ri-putasa . . . 10(+)4 hemanta-pakkhaṁ ċhhathaṁ 6 divasaṁ teraṁ 10 (+) 3—ta (rā) Jācharīyānaṁ Kasmira-Gandhāra-

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This inscription is important from the historical point of view. It throws light on this flourishing condition of Buddhism in the reign of Śrī Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata. The countries mentioned in the inscription can be identified without any difficulty. The kingdom of Gandhāra[86] lay on both sides of the Indus. It seems to have included the Rawalpindi district of the Punjab and the Peshawar district of the North-western Frontier Province.[87] Cīna and Cilāta (kirāta) were the countries which situated to the east and north-east of India.[88] The city of Tosala or Tosali can be identified with modern Dhauli of the Puri district and some parts of the adjoining districts of Orissa.[89] Avaraṃta (Aparānta) has been identified with Northern Konkan.[90] The country of Vaṁga can be identified with central and eastern Bengal along with a part of Southern Bengal.[91] The country of Vanavāsi is modern Banavasi in (Norlh) Kanara.[92] The Yavana country was probably Alasanda in the North-Western Frontier Province and Afghanistan.[92] The country of Damila has been identified with the Tamila country.[94] According to some, Palura and Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga.[95] But C.E.A.W. Oldham has identified Paloura with a village called

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China-Chilā-ta-Tosali-Avaramta-Vaṁga-Vanavasi-Yava(m) Da(mila-Pa) lura Tamba-paṁni-dīpa-pas(ā)dakānaṁ theriyānaṁ Tambapa(ṁ)nakānaṁ suparigaheṁ

L. II. Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puvadisā-bhāge vihāre chula-Dhammagiriyaṁ chetiya-gharaṁ sapata-saṁtharam sachetiyaṁ sava-niyutaṁ kāritaṁ uvāsi-kāya Bodhisiriya apano bhatuno Budhi-(ṁ) nakasa pituno cha se Govagāma-vatha-vasa Revata-gahapatisa mātuya cha se Budhamnikāya bhātunaṁ cha se Chaṁda-mukhanasa Karuṁbudhinasa Haghaṁnasa bhaginīya cha Revatiṁnikaya bhātu-putānaṁ cha Mahā-Chaṁdamukha-chula Chaṁdamukhānaṁ bhagineyānaṁ cha Mahā-Mulā Chula-Mūlānaṁ apano cha ayakasa Mūlavāniyasa apikāya Budhavāniki(nāya) mātulaka (sa cha) Koṭh(ā) kārikasa Bhadasa Bodhisaṁmasa Chaṁdasa Bodhikasa mahāmātukāya Bhadi(lā)va Bodhiva cha apano pituno Budhi(vā)ni-yasa m(ātuya)

L. III. bhātuno Mūlasa bhaginīnaṁ Budhaṁnikāya Mūlaṁnikāya Nāgabodhi-nikāya cha dhūtava viraninikāya putāhaṁ Nāgaṁnasa Viraṁnasa cha Suṁnhānaṁ cha Bhadasiri-Misīnaṁ evam-eva cha kulaha-vihāra chetiya-gaharaṁ Sīhalavihāre bodhi-rukhapāsādo Mahā-Dhammagiriyaṁ ovarako 1 mahāvi(hā)re maṁdava-khambo Devagiriyaṁ padhānasālā puvasele talākaṁ a(laṁ)da ma(ṁ)davo cha Kaṁṭakasele mahāchetiyasa puvadāre sela-maṃḍavo Hirumuthuve avarakā timṇi 3 Papilāyaṁ avarakā sata 7 Puphagiriya(ṁ) sela-maṃḍava Dhaṁ. . .vihāre sela-ma(ṁ)davo etaṁ cha savaṁ varivaṁni (taṁ . . . sā) dhuvagasa achaṁṭa-hita-sukhāya thavitaṁ sava(sa) cha lokasa imaṁ nava-kaṁmaṁ timhi navaka(ṁ) mikehi kāritaṁ chaṁdamukhatharena cha

L. IV. Dhaṁmanaṁdi-therena cha Nāga therena cha sela-raḍhākisa vidhikasa karṁam ti."

86. PHAI, p. 59.
87. SSLD, pp. 28-29.
88. Ibid., p. 29.
89. Ibid., p. 30.
90. Ibid., p. 30.
91. Ibid , p. 30.
92. Ibid., p. 30.
93. Ibid., p. 31.
94. Ibid., p. 31.
95. Ibid , p. 31.

Palura about six miles north-east of Ganjām.[96]

It should be noted here that there is a difference of opinion among the scholars on the meaning of the words "pasādakānaṁ theriyānaṁ" of the inscription. N. Dutt,[97] while explaining the word "pasādakānaṁ", mentions that Childers explains "pasādaka" by "causing serenity and happiness" and has referred to its use as "dipappasādaka thera" "the priest who brought peace or pleasure to the island" (Mahāvaṁsa, XX, 8). Childera has also given another meaning "the priest who converted the island." N. Dutt says that it should never be used as "conversion" but should be understood by the meaning "the entry of any saint into a country gladdens the hearts of the people of the country."[98] According to Dr. Dutt,[99] "theriyānaṁ" were "nuns" and he translated the extract thus : "Those nuns (not monks, as Dr. Vogel writes, for the word is theriyānaṁ) who gladdened the hearts of the people of Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta, Tosali, Avaraṃta, Vaṁga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and the Isle of Tambapaṁṇi (Ceylon)". He also states further that the donor of the inscription was Upāsikā or lay-woman worshipper, who, for the glorification of the nuns, referred in the inscription to the nuns of all countries, who by their saintly lives brought joy and peace to the people of the countries visited by them.[100] Instead of accepting of J.Ph. Vogel's translation "the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta etc.", Dr. Dutt has translated the passage in this way : "Among the nuns who have brought joy and peace to the people of Kasmira, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta, Tosalī, Avaraṃta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and the Isle of Tambapaṁṇi, the gift is made for the acceptance by the nuns of Tambapaṁṇi alone."[101] N. Dutt further remarks that nuns belonging to various countries assembled at Śrīparvata and its surrounding places which became important centres of Buddhism and wealthy lay-worshippers of the religion of the Buddha from a particular country constructed religious establishments for the residence of monks and nuns of their own country.[102] Probably, an upāsikā, a lay-woman worshipper of Ceylon, has erected a caitya-hall to be used for the nuns only of her own country. One Madras epigraphist did not accept J.Ph. Vogel's translation. According to him, "this hill (Śrīparvata) was sacred to pilgrims from Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta, Tosalī, Avaraṃta, Vanavāsi, Tambapanṇi etc."[103] D.L. Barua has neither accepted J.Ph. Vogel's translation of the passage of the inscription nor has agreed with N. Dutt in his interpretation of the short extract. He says[104] : "Both the

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96. Ibid., p. 32; JBORS, XXII, 1936, part I, pp. 1-2.
97. IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 651ff.
98. Ibid., p. 652.
99. Ibid., p. 652.
100. Ibid., p. 652.
101. IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 653.
102. Ibid., p. 653.
103. BRAHA, p. 85.
104. IC, I, 1934-35, p. 110.

scholars have erred on the wrong side. Both of them have failed to note that Theriyānaṁ occurs as an adjunct to Ācariyānaṁ, both of which may be combined into single expression Theriyācariyānaṁ, 'to the teachers represented by the Theras, exponents of Theravāda'." He states further that the expression 'ācariyānaṁ theriyānaṁ Tambapaṁnakānaṃ' should be taken to mean 'to those who were (known) to the people of Tambapaṁṇi (Ceylon) as teachers of the Theriya tradition' and he has translated the whole passage thus : 'The Right Reverend teachers, the gladdeners of Kashmir, Gandhāra, Chīna, Chilāta, Tosali, Avaraṃta, Vaṁga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and the Isle of Tambapaṁṇi (who were known) to the inhabitants of Tambapaṁṇi (Ceylon) as upholders of the Theriya tradition, i.e., of Theravāda.[105] S. Sengupta[106] has expressed his opinion that the word 'Theriyānaṃ' has connection with the well-known word 'Theravāda, and it can be applied to the monks who were upholders of Sthaviravādi tradition (or Theravādī monks) who belonged to the Hīnayāna sect. He also says that the Mahāvaṁsa (ch. III) has also used the word 'therikā' (a substitute reading) in that sense. He comments further that the orthodox or the Sthaviravādi monks (sthavirakā—therikā—theriyā) went to different places and propagated the religion of the Buddha. Sengupta and Barua, like N. Dutt, do not agree with J.Ph. Vogel regarding the conversion of the Indian provinces by the Ceylonese monks on the ground that the Ceylonese chronicle, the Mahāvaṁsa, an important work for the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, is silent on it which should have been regarded as the most important religious event in Ceylon.[107] On the contrary, the Mahāvaṃsa[108] refers to the conversion of Ceylon and the Indian provinces by Indian monks and visit of Buddhist monks from important centres of Buddhism such as Rājagaha, Isipatana, Vesālī, Kashmir, Vanavāsi, Yonanagara etc., to Ceylon to attend the ceremony of consecration of the Mahāthūpa of the Ceylonese king Duṭṭhagāmani. The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription refers to the last three countries of the Mahāvaṁsa. Dr. Sengupta[109] further points out that there is a reference to 'Tambapaṁṇidīpa' and 'Tambapaṁṇakānaṃ' in the inscription. He thinks[110] that in order to give prominence to the 'island of Ceylon', the inscriber has separately mentioned 'Tambapaṁṇidīpa' (the island of Ceylon) and has clearly distinguished it from the word 'Tambapaṁṇakānaṁ', which was most probably the riverine region belonging to the ancient Pāṇḍya kingdom of Southern India and was close to the river Tamraparṇī He observes further that the inscription possibly indicates that the 'Theravādī' monks visited different places to disseminate Buddhism from an important Buddhist centre of Southern India.[111]

[105] Ibid., I, 1934-35, p. 110.
[106] JABJA, 1971, p. 37.
[107] Ibid., p. 37; IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 653; IC, I, 1934-35, p. 111.
[108] MV, XXIX, vv. 30 ff.
[109] JABJA, 1971, p. 37.
[110] Ibid., p. 37.
[111] Ibid., p. 38.

The above mentioned inscription is important from the point of view of the history of Buddhism. From it we know that in the reign of Śrī Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa at Śrī Parvata near Dhānyakaṭaka and its adjoining places in Southern India became famous Buddhist centres and these Buddhist centres were not only visited by a large number of pilgrims from various places in India and outside, but monks from these places used to travel to different places for the propagation of Buddhism. The inscription refers to the Kulaha-vihāra which was established by the family-members of Kulahakas, who were matrimonially connected with the Ikshvākus.[112] The Sīhalavihara (Siṁhala, i.e., Ceylon vihāra) was possibly founded by a Ceylonese or by some for the accommodation of Ceylonese monks. Puvasala (Purvaśaila) was the place where the monks belonging to Purvaśaila sect, a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas, used to reside. Kaṇṭakasela or Kaṇṭakaśaila or Kaṇṭakassula was the place between the village of Guduru and the mouth of the Kṛishṇā.[113] Puphagiri was Puṣpagiri in the Cuddapah district.[114]

The First Apsidal Temple inscription E is another evidence of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the reign of Śrī Vīrapuriṣadata.[115] It records: "Success ! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. A chetiya-ghara (chaitya-hall) chatisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārājā Vāseṭhiputa Siri-Chātamūla of the house of Ikhāku, who is favoured (absorbed) by Mahāsena, the Lord of Virūpakhas, the offerer of Agnihotra, Agnishṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (who is) the wife of Vāseṭhīputa Khaṁdasiri of (the family of) the Pugiyas and (who is) the mother of Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaga, for the longevity and for the victory of her son-in-law, king Māṭhariputa Siri Vīrapuriṣadata of the house of Ikhāku and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa, having due regard to the past, future and present bliss of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated into various countries, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the Masters, belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvinaselīyas. In the eighteenth year anno 18, of king Siri Vīrapuriṣadata . . . ."[116]

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[112] SSLD, p. 38.

[113] Ibid., p. 38.

[114] Ibid., p. 38.

[115] EI, XX, 1929-30, pp. 21-22.

[116] EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 21 :
"L. I. Sadhaṁ namo bhagavato Buddhasa Chetiya ghara mahārajasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Ag·hot (A)giṭhoma-vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa aneka-hirana-koti-go-satasahasa-hala-satasa (hasa) padāyisa savathesu-apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāseṭhiputasa Ikhākulasa Siri-Chātamūlasa sahodar(ā)-bhagini mahātalavarasa

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The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions are of great importance for the study of Buddhism in the reign of Śrī Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata. It is pity that the inscriptions do not give us any evidence to show his direct role played by him in the development of Buddhism during the Ikshvāku period. But it may be presumed from various religious activities mentioned in the inscriptions during his reign that not only the Ikshvāku king took keen interest in the progress of Buddhism, but queens, princes, nobles as well as the common people, probably under his great inspiration, patronised it and gave their full support and co-operation for its glorification. It is noteworthy that in the work of merit the entire royal family, the nobility and the common people participated along with the king. Chāṁtiśrī, who was a sister of Cāṁtamūla and who was an aunt of king Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata, renovated the famous Mahācetiya, the Great Cetiya, where the Buddha's relics were kept. She also gave 300 dīnāri māsakas to the Great Cetiya. Bapiśrī or Chāṁtiśrī and Rudradhara Bhaṭṭārikā, the two queens of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata, made important contributions to the Buddhist world by offering gifts to the Buddhist establishments. Bodhiśrī, on upāsikā, occupied an important position in the religious world for her meritorious activities. She had been probably a royal princess before she became an upāsikā. Many caityas, maṇḍapas and ponds were dedicated by her and the vihāras known as the Cūladhammagirikulahavihāra, Sīhala vihāra,, Devarakana Mahāvihāra became very famous in the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata and she patronised all of these Buddhist establishments. The inscriptions refer to Chandamukha thera, Dhammanandi there and Ānande thera, who undoubtedly were great Buddhist scholars of the Ikshvāku period. Many vihāras, stūpas and caityas were constructed and renovated and most of the Ikshvāku inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jaggeyyapeta were incised with dedicatory records in the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata. His capital became an important centre of Buddhist culture and learning. "The reign of Vīrapuriṣadata was a red-letter day in the annals of Andhra Buddhism, as royal patronage of Buddhism was not found in such a large measure at any subsequent period."[117]

The Jaggayyapeta inscription[118] of the reign of Śrī Vīrapuriṣadata is another illustration of the patronage of Buddhism by the Ikshvāku people. It says :

(*Contd. from previous page*)

Vāseṭhiputasa Pugiyāna(ṁ) Khaṁdasirisa bhariy(ā) mahātalavari Khaṁdasāgaraṁ-
naga-m(ā)tā-bhātasiri apano jām(ā)tukasa raño M(ā)ṭharīputasa Ikh(ā)kunaṁ
Siri-Virapurisadatasa ayu-vadhamike vijayike

L. II. apano cha ubhaya-(loko)-hita-sukha-(nivāṇathaṇāya saṁma-saṁbudhasa dhā-) tu-
parigahitasa mahāchetiya-pādamūle pavajitanaṁ nānā desa-samanāgatānaṁ save-
sādhūnaṁ mahābhikkhu-sa(ṁ)ghasa apa (ro cha-u) bhaya-kulasa atichhita (ṃ)
arā-gata-vatamānake nikapanike cha parināmetunaṁ Aparamahāvinaseliya(ā)naṃ
parigahe savaniyuta(ṁ) Chātusaḷa-parigaḥitam sela ṃaṁtava(ṁ) patith (ā)pitaṁ
raṁño Siri Virapurisadatasa saṁvachharaṁ aṭhāra sam 10 (+) 8 hemaṁta-pakhaṁ
chhathaṁ 6 divasaṁ paṁchamaṁ 5 sava satānaṁ hit(ā)ya sukhāya hotu ti. . . ."

[117] BRAHA, p. 84.

[118] ASSI, 1887, pp. 100 ff.

"Success ! On the 10th day of the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, in the 20th year of the king Purişadata (Purushadatta), the glorious hero (Śrivira) of the Ikshvākus (Ikhākus) and son of the Madhara (mother)—the artisan (avesam) Sidatha (Siddhārtha) resident in the village of Mahākāṁḍurūra, the son of the artisan Nāka Chaṁda (Nāgachandra) resident in the village of Ṇaḍatūra in the province (ratha) of Kaṁmāka, having associated (with him) his mother Nāgilaṁ, and his wife Samudaṁ (Samudrāṇi) and his son Mūlasiri (Mūlaśri) and his daughter Nākabudhanikā (Nāgabudhanikā) and his brother Budhanika, and his wife of the same Kanika (Kanyaka, Kṛishṇā or Karṇikā) and (their) two sons Nāgasiri (Nāgaśri) and Chaṁdasiri (Chandaśri) and daughter Sidhathanika (Siddhārthanika), erected thus, together with the multitude of his blood-relations, friends and connections, in the village of Velagiri, near the eastern gate of the great chaitya of divine Buddha, five (5) Āyaka-pillars, which were dedicated by all (the above persons), as his own meritorious gift for the good and the welfare of all living beings."[119]

EHUVULA CĀṂTAMŪLA II

Śrī Māṭhariputra Vīrapurişadata was succeeded by his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Bahubala Cāṃtamūla or Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II, who seems to have ascended the throne in the last quarter of the third century A.D. He ruled at least for eleven years. Buddhism continued to flourish in his reign. Like his father, he seems to have patronised it. Inscriptions of his reign give us sufficient reasons to believe that it once again reached the height of popularity and the Kistna-Guntur region became a famous centre of activities of various Buddhist sects like Bahuśrutīya and Mahīśāsaka which were patronised by the members of the royal house. Bhaṭṭidevī, probably his mother, took an active part in the religious development and she erected the Devī vihāra. His sister, Kandabiśrī, who was the Mahārānī of Vanavāsi, also built one vihāra for the ascetics. All these facts give a clear idea about the patronage of Buddhism by the kings, queens and common people during the Ikshvāku period.

The Āyaka Pillar inscription G 2 found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa says[120] : "Success ! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with every thing has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the

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[119] Ibid., p. 110 :

"Sidhaṁ Raño Māḍhariputasasa Ikhākhunṇaṁ Sirivira-Purisadatasa saṃvachhare 20 Vāsāpakhaṁ 8 divasaṁ (1) 10 Ka(ṁ)mā karathe Ṇaḍatūre āvenisa Nākachaṁdasa pūto gāme Mahākāṁḍurūre āvesaṁ (2) Sidhatho āpaṇo mātaraṁ Nāgilaniṁ purato katūnaṁ gharaniṁi cha Samudaniṁi bālakaṁ cha Mūlasirim (3) bālikaṁ cha Nākabudhaṁkaṁ bhatukaṁ cha Budhinakaṁ tasa gharanim cha kanikaṁ bālakā cha Nāgasiri-chaṁda (4) siri bālikaṁ-ya s(i)dhathanik(ṁ) eval(ṁ) nātimitasaṁbadhivagena sahā gāma velagiriyaṁ Bhagavat (5) Budhaso Mahāchetiyapuvādare āyaka-khaṁbhe 5 savaniyute apaṇo deya-dhaṁmaṁ savasatānaṁ hi (6) tasukhā ya patithapita ti. (7)."

[120] EI, XXI, p. 62.

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Bahusu (t) iya sect by Mahādevi (Bhaṭṭidevā), (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsi (t)-ṭhīputta Siri Chāṁtamūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus, who is favoured by Mahāsena, the Lord of Virūpakkhas the offerer of Agnihotra; Agnishṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Siri-Ehuvula-Siri-Vīrapuriṣadatta. In the second year of (the reign of) Rājā Vāsi (t) ṭhiputta Siri Ehuvula Chātamūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus, the sixth—6—fortnight of summer, the tenth—10—day."[121]

The inscription refers to the Bahuśrutīya sect. It shows that this sect had a profound influence on the people in the reign of Ehuvula Cāṁtamūla. According to Vasubandhu, it was a sub-sect of the Mahāsaṅghika, but it closely agreed with the Sarvāstivāda sect regarding some of the doctrinal points.[122]

The Āyaka Pillar inscription G 3 of the reign of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II records[123]: "Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the queen's monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahusutiya sect by Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāseṭhīput (t) a Siri Chāṁtamūla, of (the house of) the I (k) khāklus, who is favoured by Mahāsena, the Lord of Virūpakkhas, the offerer of Agnihotra, Agnishṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍharīput(t)a Siri-Vīrapuriṣadat(t)a of (the house of) the I(k)khākus. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Siri-Ehuvula Chātamūla, the (sixth) fortnight of summer, the tenth day."[124]

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121. Ibid., XXI, p. 62 :
    "L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato Budhasa Mahārājasa
    L. II. Virūpakkhapatti Mahāsena-parigahitasa agihot-(a)githoma-vājape
    L. III. y-(ā) samedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṁṇa-koti-go-sata-sahasa-hala satasaha
    L. IV. (sa-padāyi) sa savathesu apati-hata-saṁkappasa Vāsiṭhīputtasa Ikkhā(kunaṁ)
    L. V. Siri-Chāṁtamūlasa sunhāya mahārajasa Mā(ṭha)riputtasa Siri-Virapuri
    L. VI. sadattasa bhayyāya mahādevīya (Bhattidavāya) deyadhamma imaṁ savajātaṁyuto
    L. VII. vihāro achariyānaṁ Bahusutiyāna(ṁ) paṭitthapito Raño Vāsiṭhīputtasa Ikkha-(ā)kunaṁ
    L. VIII. Siri-Ehuvula-Chatamūlasa saṁvaccharaṁ bitiyaṁ giṁha-pakkhaṁ chhaṭham 6 divasaṁ dasamaṁ 10."
122. BIA, p. 101.
123. EI, XXI, p. 62.
124. EI, XXI, p. 62 :
    "L. I. Sidhaṁ namo bha(gava)to
    L. II. Buddhasa Mahārajasa Vir(ū)pakha-pati-Mahāsena
    L. III (pa)ri gahitasa agihot (a)githoma-vājapey (ā) samedho
    L. IV. Yājisa hiraṇa-koti-go-sata-sahasa-ha
    L. V. La-satasahasa-padayisa savathesu apa

(contd. on next page)

The detached Pillar inscription G of the reign of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II also refers to donation in favour of the Bahuśrutīya sect.[125] It states: "Success! Adoration to the Lord, the leader of the Law of the three worlds . . . Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahāṛāja Vāseṭhiputa Siri-Chātamūla, of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured by Mahāsena, the lord of Virūpakkhas, the offerer of Agnihotra, Agnishṭoma, Vājapeya, and Aśvamedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍharīputa Siri-Vīrapuriṣadata of the house of the Ikkhākus; (and who is) the mother of Mahārāja Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla, has erected . . . this monastery provided with all essentials for the Masters of the Bahusutiya sect."[126]

The above three inscriptions give us an impression that the Bahuśrutīya sect was able to acquire an important position in the history of Buddhism in the Andhra country during the reign of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II. Another inscription[127] of the eleventh year of his reign throws light on the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. It refers to the name of another Buddhist sect which was known as the Mahīśāsaka. It records: "Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha. In the eleventh year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Vāseṭhīputa Siri-Ehuvula (Chāta) mūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus, the first (fortnight of) the seventh day. Mahādevī (ko)da(ba)lisiri (who is) the grand-daughter of Mahārāja Vāseṭhīputa, Siri-Chātmūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus; (who is) the sister of Mahārāja Vāseṭhīputa Siri-Ehuvala-Chātamūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus; and

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(*contd. from previous page*)

L. VI. tihata-saṁkapasa Vāsethiputasa Ikhākuna(ṁ) si—
L. VII. ri-Chaṁtamūlasa suṇhāya-mahātājasa
L. VIII. Māḍhariputasa Ikkhākunaṁ Siri-Virapu
L. IX. risadatasa bhayāya mahādeviya Bha—
L. X. ti devāya deyadhamo ayam Devī-vi
L. XI. hār(o) sava-jataṁ yuto ajari-yāṇaṁ (Ba)
L. XII. husutiy(ā)na(ṁ) patiṭhapito Raño Siri-Ehu—
L. XIII. vula-Chamtamulasa sa(ṁ)vachhara bitiya gimhapaka
L. XIV. (chhathaṁ) divasaṁ dasaṁ."

125. EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 24.
126. Ibid., XX, 1929-30, p. 23:
"L. I. (Si)dhaṁ namo bhagavato toloka-dhamma-dhura-vahasa mahārāja (sa Virū)
L. II. (pa)khapati-Mahāsena-parigahi-tasa Agihot-Āgiṭhoma-(Vājape)
L. III. y-Asmedha-y-(ā)yi(ji)sa hiraṁṇa-koti-go-satasaha (sa-hala-sata)
L. IV. sahasa-padāi (yi)sa savathesu apatihata-saṁka(pasa)
L. V. (Vā)sethiputasa Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Chātamūlasa sun(hā)ya (mahā-rāja)
L. VI. sa Māḍh(ri)putasa Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhayayama
L. VII. hārajasa Siri-E(huvula) Chātamūlasa mātuya mahād (e)viya Bhatidevāya
L. VIII. . . . . (i)maṁ vihāro sava-jāto niyuto achariy(ā)naṁ Bahusutiyāṅaṁ
L. IX. paṭihā(pito) . . . i-ra pu naṁ budhiṇa . . . (saṁvachharaṁ) . . . (bitiyaṁ)
L. X. (gimha-pakhaṁ) . . . sughāye ti."
127. EI, XX, 1929-30, p. 24.

(who is) the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsaka has erected this pillar and monastery for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahī(śā)saka sect, on behalf of the community of the Four Quarters, and for the sake of welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. (It has been) carried out by the Master, the great preacher of the Law, the thera Dhammaghosa."[128]

From the above mentioned inscription we learn that the Mahīśāsaka was also another sect which flourished in the reign of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II. According to Vasumitra, the renowned Buddhist teacher, it was a sub-sect of the Sarvāstivāda.[129] But from the Pali tradition we know that it arose out of the Theravāda. This sect was divided into two classes, viz., the Purva-Mahīśāsaka and the Uttara-Mahīśāsaka.[130]

Buddhist stūpas and monasteries in the Kṛishṇā valley during the early centuries of the Christian era clearly point out the popularity of Buddhism in this region and the contributions of the rulers of the Sātavāhana and the Ikshvāku dynasties to its development. Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Goli and Ghaṇṭaśālā in the Kṛishṇā region were the important centres of Buddhism during the rule of the above-mentioned dynasties. The rise of Amarāvatī as a prominent city can be dated before the Christian era but it reached the height of glory during the second century A.D. That Nāgārjunikoṇḍa rose to its importance as a great centre of Buddhist activities under the patronage of the Ikshvāku rulers of the third century A.D. is clear from several Buddhist inscriptions discovered here as already discussed. Archaeological evidence relating to it also is not lacking. A limestone caitya slab showing a stūpa, a limestone figure of Buddha Dipaṅkara's prediction regarding Gautama's enlightenment, a limestone scene of the Sibi Jātaka illustrating the story of the Bodhisattva's life as king Sibi and a limestone scene of the Mandhātu Jātaka showing the king lying despondently and telling his people about the uselessness of the earthly glory have been found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.[131]

[128] Ibid., XX, 1929-30, p. 24 :
L. I. Sidham namo bhagavato samāsaṁ.
L. II. budhasa mahārājasa Vāseṭhiputasa.
L. III. Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Ehuvala (Chāta)mūlasa sava 10(+)1.
L. IV. 1 diva / mahārājasa Agihot-Āgidhena-vājaveja.
L. V. Asamedha-yāti(ji)sa(anrka) hiraṇa-koti-go-satasahasa.
L. VI. hala-satasaha-pad(ā)y(i)sa savathesu apatihata.
L. VII. saṁkapasa Vāseṭhiputasa Ikhākuna(m) Siri-Chatamūla(sa).
L. VIII. nattiya-mahārājasa Māthariputasa Siri-Virapurisa.
L. IX. datasa dhūtuya mahārājasa Vāseṭhiputasa Ikhākunaṁ.
L. X. Siri-Ehuvala-ch(ā)tamūla(sa) bhaginiyā Vānavāsakamahārāja.
L. XI mahā leviya (ko)da(ba) lisiriya imaṁ Khaṁyaṁ vihāra cha.
L. XII achariyānaṁ Mahi(sā)sakānaṁ suparigahe chātudisaṁ.
L. XIII. sa(ṁ)ghaṁ udisāya savasatānaṁ hita-sukh(ā)thaṁ thāpitaṁ achariye.
L. XIV. ha mahādhamma-Kāthikena Dhamma (gho)sa-therena anuthitam ṭi."

[129] BIA, p. 83.

[130] Ibid., p. 84.

[131] WB, pp. 311-312.

They all belong to the third century A.D. The archaeological source shows the importance of Goli as a centre of Buddhism during the rule of the Ikshvākus. A limestone scene of the Ṣaḍdanta Jātaka showing the huntsman cutting off the tusks of the Bodhisattva and the queen dying of grief subsequently, a limestone scene of the Vessantara Jātaka illustrating the gift of the royal elephant by prince Vessantara and another limestone scene of the Vessantara Jātaka showing Vessantara's exile to the forest discovered at Goli[132] clearly indicate that Buddhism made a steady progress in the Ikshvāku kingdom under the patronage of the rulers and their subordinates.

An inscription found at Gurzala (in the Guṇṭūr district) discloses the name of the king Ruḷupurushadatta (Ruḷupuriṣadata),[133] who was probably the successor of Ehuvula-Cāṃtamūla. But the independent rule of the Ikshvāku dynasty came to an end about the closing years of the third century A.D. and their power was exterminated from the lower valley of the Kṛshṇā by the Pallavas of Kāñchī about the end of the third century.

With the decline of the Ikshvāku power Buddhism was temporarily on the wane in the Kṛshṇā-Guṇṭūr region, J.Ph. Vogel[134] remarks that the decline of the Ikshvāku power brought the downfall of Buddhism and he points out further that the "rising of the powerful dynasties devoted to Brāhmanism like the Pallava in the south and the Chālukya in the West", was the cause of its collapse. It is quite true that the Pallavas of Kāñchī, the immediate successors of the Ikshvākus, who extended their power over Andhrāpatha and Kuntala, were worshippers of the Brāhmanical faith. But in spite of it, Buddhism continued to maintain its progress in the Andhra country during the reign of some of the ruling families of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

THE ĀNANDAS OF KAṆḌARAPURA

The Ānandas are said to have ruled in the region around the Guṇṭūr district between the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century A.D. From inscriptions we know only the names of three kings Kaṇḍara Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman, who belonged to the "Kaṇḍara family or the Ānanda-gotra family."[135]

Kaṇḍara[136] (or Kanhdāra or Kanhara or Kannara), which was a prikrit corruption of a Sanskrit name Kṛṣṇa was probably the founder of the Ānanda dynasty and his capital was known as Kaṇḍarapura, which, according to R. Rao, was Kanteru in the Guṇṭūr tāluk.[137] The Goranṭla inscription[138] of the reign of

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[132] Ibid , p. 310.
[133] EI, XXVI, 1941, pp. 123 ff.
[134] Ibid., XX, 1929-30, p. 10.
[135] SSLD, p. 56; EI, XVII, 1923-24, p. 328; CLA, p. 202.
[136] SSLD, p. 56; ANHIP, VI, p. 71.
[137] Ibid., p. 56.

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Attivarman found in the district of Guṇṭūr describes the Kaṇḍara-nṛpati-kula as "bhagavato Vakeśvaradhivasins-tribhuvana-kartuh sambhos-carana-kamala-rajah-pavitrikrta', which indicates that Sambhu (Siva) was the family god of the Ananda kings, who were devotees of Siva.

Kaṇḍara was probably succeeded by Attivarman, who has been called 'Kaṇḍara-nṛpati-kula-samudbhūta', 'sprung from the family of king Kaṇḍara' in the Goranṭla inscription.[139] The Goranṭla charter indicates that he was a powerful ruler and a performer of Hiraṇyagarbhas mahadana. This inscription clearly suggests that he was a devotee of Śiva.

The next ruler was Dāmodaravarman. The Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman found in the village of Mattepad in the Ongole taluk of the Guṇṭūr district refer to him as 'Mahārāja-Śrī Dāmodaravarmano' 'the glorious Mahārāja Dāmodaravarman.'[140] These plates[141] mention him as 'bhagavataḥ samyaksaṁbuddhasya pādānudhyāta' 'he meditates on the feet of the Blessed Samyaksambuddha' which clearly indicates that he was a worshipper of the truly and perfectly Enlightened One i.e., of the Buddha. Although the inscription does not say anything about the development of Buddhism in his reign, it may be assumed from its description that he was a devout Buddhist and the religion of the Buddha prospered under his great patronage.

THE BṚHATPHALĀYANAS OF KUDURĀHĀRA OR KUDŪRA

Towards the end of the third century A.D. the Masulipatam or the present Bandar tāluk of the Kṛishṇā district and the adjoining region were under the control of kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana dynasty.[142] Their capital was at first at Pithuṇḍa (or Pitundra). Afterwards they ruled from Kudūra (modern Gudura near Masulipatam). We know only the name of one king who was Jayavarman. But nothing is known about his predecessors and successors from any epigraphical or archaeological source. It is believed that the earlier kings acknowledged the suzerainty of the later Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus.

The Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman[143] found at Kondamudi in the Tenali Tāluk of the Kṛishṇā district record that king Jayavarman who belonged to the gotra of the Bṛhatphalāyanas was a worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva). It indicates that Śaivism was an important religion in the country in his reign. No evidence is available regarding the condition of Buddhism during the Bṛhatphalāyana period. It is quite clear from the epigraphic evidence that the

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138. IA, IX, 1880, pp. 102-103.
139. Ibid , IX, 1880, p. 102; SSLD, p. 55.
140. EI, XVII, 1923-24, p. 329.
141. Ibid , p. 329.
142. SSLD, pp. 41 ff; AIU, p. 226; ANHIP, VI, p. 68,
143. EI, VI, 1900-1901, pp. 315-316.

Bṛhatphalāyanas were followers of Brāhmanism and at the same time nothing is known about their anti-Buddhist activities. From this context we may conclude that Buddhism along with Brāhmanism continued to flourish in the kingdom of the Bṛhatphalāyanas under their patronage.

THE ŚĀLAṄKĀYANAS OF VEṄGĪ

Devavarman or Vijayavarman is regarded as the founder of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty of Veṅgīpura which has been identified with Peddavegi and Chinnavegi near Ellore in the Godāvarī district in Southern India.[144] The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled over "West Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā Districts probably with some of the adjoining regions".[145] The Ellore plates,[146] dated on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa in the 13th year of Devavarman, refer to him as the performer of the aśvamedha sacrifice. Probably, he performed it for his success against the Pallavas who took the possession of the Andhra country. It signifies that he was a powerful ruler and he flourished before the expedition of Samudragupta towards the south.

The next ruler was Hastivarman, who is called 'aneka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya' 'who attained victory in many battles'.[147] It is to be noted in this connection that the Gupta emperor Samudragupta in his South Indian expedition engaged himself in war with Hastivarman about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Archaeological materials suggest that the Śālaṅkāyana kings were devotees of Maheśvara or Śiva and Śaivism was the most prominent religion in their kingdom. Vaiṣṇavism also flourished in their reign. No record throws light on the Buddhist learning of the Śālaṅkāyana kings. Even then, it would be wrong to think that Buddhism did not flourish at all. But due to dearth of materials it is, however, difficult for us to give any direct evidence to show the progress of Buddhism in the reign of the Śālaṅkāyana kings.

THE ĀBHĪRAS

It is believed that the Ābhīras came to India from some part of eastern Iran. According to D.C. Sircar,[148] they have received their name from a place called Abiravan which was situated between Herat and Kandahār. The north-western region of the Deccan and northern Konkan were the places where they established themselves.[149] From epigraphical sources it is known that they were generals or royal officers of the Śaka Mahākshatrapas, who ruled in Western India. An inscription of 181 A.D. discovered at Guṇḍa (in Northern Kāthiāwār) refers to

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[144] BRAHA, pp. 90-92.
[145] CLA, p. 206.
[146] SSLD, pp. 86 ff.
[147] Ibid., p. 91.
[148] ACHI, p. 331; AIU, p. 221; JNSI, VI, p. 94.
[149] ACHI, p. 331.

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the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti, son of the general Bāpaka of the reign of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I.[150]

Māṭharīputra Iśvarasena, son of Ābhīra Śivadatta (or data), is the only Ābhīra king known from epigraphic source, who may be regarded as the successor of the Sātavāhanas and the Śakas in the north-western Deccan. He was the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty, and probably he flourished in the first half of the third century A.D. But we do not know anything about extension of his dominion. His inscription found in the Nāsik region clearly proves that it was a part of his empire. He was regarded as the founder of the era of 248 A.D. which was used in later days in Aparānta and Lāṭa in Western India.

Buddhism flourished in the reign of king Māṭharīputra Iśvarasena. An inscription of his reign found in one of the caves at Nāsik informs us that it was patronised by the people in his reign. It describes[151] : "Success ! In the ninth year of king Iśvarasena, the Ābhīra, son of Śivadatta, the Ābhīra, son of Māḍharī, on the thirteenth—13th—day of the fourth—4th—fortnight of summer on the above, by the lay devotee Vishṇudatta, the Śakānī, mother of the Gaṇapaka Viśvavarma, wife of the Gaṇapaka Rebhilla, daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka, for the well-being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicines for the sick of the Saṅgha of monks of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Triraśmi, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling (at Govardhana),[152] viz., in the hands of the guild of Kularikas, one thousand—1000—Kārshāpaṇas, of the guild of odayantrikas, two thousand, of the guild of—five hundred—500—, of the guild of oil-millers—and these Kārshāpaṇas."[153] From the inscription it is clear that Buddhism was a popular religion in the Nāsik area during the reign of the Ābhīra King Iśvarasena and was able to secure an important position in the religious world of the Deccan during the rule of the Ābhīra dynasty. Nothing is known from the inscription about king Māṭharīputra Iśvarasena's devotion to Buddhism and his contribution to the

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[150] EI, XVI, 1921-22, p. 235.

[151] Ibid., VIII, 1905-6, p. 89.

[152] Old Nasik.

[153] EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 88 :

L. I. Sidhaṁ rājñaḥ Māḍharīputasya Śivadatt-Ābhīraputrasya.
L. II. Ābhīrasy—Esvarasenasya saṁvatsare navama.
L. III. mhapakhe chothe 4 divasa trayodaśa 13.
L. IV. ya puvaya Śak-Āgnīvarmmaṇaḥ duhitā gaṇapaka.
L. V. Rebhilasya bharyayā gaṇapakasya visvavarmasya.
L. VI. trā Śakanikayā upasīkāya Vishṇudatāya sarvasatvahi.
L. VII. tasukhārthaṁ Triraśmiparvata vihāravāstavyasya Chāturdisa.
L. VIII. bhikshusaṁghasya gilānabheshajārtham akshayanivī prayuktā . . . vāsta.
L. IX. vyasu āgātanāgatasu śreṇīshu yataḥ kularkaśreṇyā haste karshāpaṇa.
L. X. sahasra 1000 odayaṁtrikaśrenyā sahasrāṇi dve.
L. XI. ṇyāḥ śatāni paṁcha 500 tila-pishakaśreṇ.
L. XII. ete cha karshāpaṇa chatālepa. . . ."

Buddhist world. But we may assume from its description that possibly under his inspiration Buddhism did not discontinue to play its part in the religious life of the people who took keen interest in the welfare of the religion and the monks associated with the faith.

THE BODHIS

In the third century A.D. the Bodhi dynasty became very prominent and ruled over some regions of North-western Deccan. Some coins reveal the existence of a ruler named Bodhi or Śrībodhi, who may be regarded as the founder of the dynasty.[154] By the word 'Bodhi' we generally understand 'the Bodhi tree' under which the Buddha attained enlightenment and the name of the dynasty points to the Buddhist faith. D.C. Sircar has rightly observed: "It is not improbable that the word indicates the Bodhi tree, and that the Bodhis were Buddhists in faith. This is probably suggested by the tree within railing found on some of these coins."[155] Probably under the patronage of the Bodhi rulers Buddhism flourished in their kingdom. We learn from some of the coins that Śivabodhi, Chandrabodhi and Vīrabodhi were other important rulers of the dynasty.

THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

After the fall of the Sātavāhanas and before the rise of the Cālukyas about the middle of the sixth century, the Vākāṭakas[156] (c. 250-550 A.D.) came into prominence and became very powerful in the history of ancient India. They occupied large parts of Madhya Pradesh and Berar and also extended their influence to some regions of the Deccan.

VINDHYAŚAKTI

Vindhyaśakti is regarded as the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. The Ajantā inscription of Harisena[157] refers to him as a dvija (Brāhmaṇa) and a banner of the Vākāṭaka race. It says further that he conquered several countries and also won many battles. . It seems that he was a powerful ruler.

HĀRITĪPUTRA PRAVARASENA I OR PRAVĪRA

Mahārāja Hāritīputra Pravarasena I or Pravīra of the Purāṇic account, a son of Vindhyaśakti, ascended the throne after his father.[158] Under him the

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[154] ACHI, p. 333; AIU, p. 223.

[155] AIU, pp. 223-224.

[156] AIU, pp. 217-219; ACHI, pp. 328-331.

[157] AIU, p. 219; ASWI, IV, p. 124.

[158] AHD, p. 72.

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Vākāṭaka power became very prominent. It seems that it was due to him the Vākāṭaka empire was able to hold its sway from Bundelkhand in the north to the Hyderabad state in the south.[159] He performed the Aśvamedha, Agnishṭoma, Āptoryāma, Jyotishṭoma, Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Ukthya, Shodasin and Atirātra sacrifices. This shows that he was an ardent follower of the Brāhmanical religion.

The Vākāṭakas ruled from about the middle of the third to about the middle of the sixth centuries A.D. They were powerful rulers and were performer of the Vedic sacrifices which show that they patronised Brāhmanism. "The Vākāṭakas reigned over an empire that occupied a very central position and it is through this dynasty that the high civilisation of the Gupta empire and the Sanskrit culture in particular spread throughout the Deccan."[160] No epigraphic record refers to any event relating to the progress of Buddhism under the patronage of the rulers of the Vākāṭaka dynasty in the early period. But we know that "some of finest caves along with the paintings (at Ajantā) owe their origin to the munificence of the officials and feudatories of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma (modern Basin, Akola District, Berar)."[161] Some of the magnificent caves at Ajantā with monastic establishments were hewn and constructed under the patronage of the later Vākāṭaka rulers and some of their ministers and feudatories. King Harisena's minister, Varāhadeva, a devout Buddhist, dedicated cave No. 16 of Ajantā to the Buddhist Saṅgha and Aśmaka, a feudatory to king Harisena, offered cave No. 17 to the Buddhist Saṅgha.[162] "Combined with elegance and architectural vigour, it (cave No. 16) is one of the most beautiful vihāras at Ajantā, its importance further increased by an inscription, incised on the left end-wall outside the Verandah, furnishing the history of its excavation. The inscription records the dedication of the magnificent dwelling, excavated in the hill, for the use of the 'best of ascetics' by Varāhadeva, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena. We are further told that the dwelling was adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries (vithi), statues of celestial nymphs, ornamental pillars and stairs and had a shrine (chaitya). . . ."[163] "As indicated by an inscription incised on the left wall outside the Verandah, this magnificent vihāra owes its origin to the piety of a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena."[164]

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159. AIU, p. 220.
160. AHD, p. 75.
161. AJ, p. 4.
162. AJ, p. 4.
163. Ibid., p. 39.
164. Ibid., p. 43.

GENEALOGY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA KINGS[165]

Simuka
Kaṇha (Krishna)
Sātakarṇi
Pūrṇotsaṅga
Skandhastambhu
Sātakarṇi
Lambodara
Āpilaka
Meghasvati
Svāti
Skandasvāti
Mṛigendra Svātikarṇa
Kuntala Svātikarṇa
Svātikarṇa
Pulomāvi
Arishṭakarṇa
Hāla
Mantalaka or Pattalaka
Purikashena or Purindrasena
Sundara Sātakarṇi
Chakora Sātakarṇi
Śivasvāti
Gautamaputra
Pulomā
Śivaśrī Pulomā
Śivaskandha Sātakarṇi
Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi
Vijaya
Chaṇḍaśrī Sātakarṇi
Pulomāvi

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[165] AIU, pp. 707-708,

EIGHT

BUDDHISM DURING THE AGE OF THE GUPTAS

(THE LATER GUPTAS)

RISE OF THE GUPTAS

After the fall of the Maurya empire India lost her unity for the time being. The vast Magadha empire under the Mauryas which then extended from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country was divided into several political unit and parts of the country remained under foreign rule for a long period. But she now found shelter in a new line of rulers known as the famous Gupta dynasty in Indian History. The beginning of the fourth century A.D. marks an important period in the political history of India. The establishment of a vast empire by the Gupta dynasty resulted in the recovery of India's political unity. The Gupta rulers played a dramatic part on the political stage of India and under them India made such a progress in religion, literature, science, fine arts and other aspects of culture that this period is generally regarded as the "Golden Age" in the history of Ancient India.

The origin of the Guptas is shrouded in mystery. There is a controversy relating to the origin of the Guptas, but it is known from reliable sources that a king named Gupta or Śrī Gupta, who had the title of Mahārāja, was the founder of the Gupta dynasty. From an account of the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, we know that a Mahārāja Śrī Gupta with a gift of twenty-four villages built a Buddhist temple known as the 'China Temple' near Mṛigaśikhāvana (Mi-li-kia-si kia-po-no) "which was about forty yojanas to the east of Nālandā, following the course of the Ganges" for benefit of Chinese Buddhist monks, who during his reign came from Sz'chuen in China to the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā to pay their worship to it.[1] There is a controversy regarding the identification of Mahārāja Gupta with I-tsing's Śrī Gupta. According to J. Allan, the two are

[1] IA, X, 1881, pp. 109 ff; JRASGB, XIII, part II, 1882, pp. 570 ff; PHAI, pp. 528-29; HNEI, p. 6,

identical and he remarks, "the lands of the patron of the Chinese pilgrims must have lain within the Gupta territory, and it is unlikely that we should have had two different rulers in the same territory of the same name within so brief a period; had the Gupta mentioned by I-tsing been an ancestor of and not identical with Gupta, he must have appeared in some of the genealogical lists."[2] Mahārāja Śri Gupta seems to have ruled between 275 A.D. and 300 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha, who probably ruled between 300 and 320 A.D.[3].

CHANDRA GUPTA I

Chandra Gupta I, son of Ghaṭotkacha, who occupied the throne in 320 A.D. (the initial year of the Gupta era) was the first independent sovereign (Mahārājādhirāja) of the Gupta dynasty. He may be regarded as the real founder of the Gupta empire who laid the foundation of the Second Magadha Empire. Like the great king Bimbisāra of the Haryaṅka dynasty he entered into matrimonial alliance with the Liçhchhavis of Vaiśālī (or of Nepal) which enhanced the power and prestige of the Gupta family to a great extent. Several gold coins with the standing figures of Chandra Gupta I and his queen the Lichchhavi princess—Kumāradevī, the Lichchhavi princess and on the reverse a goddess seated on a lion with the legend 'Lichchhavayaḥ' evidently point out the special significance of his marital relationship with the powerful Lichchhavi clan. He had his capital at Pāṭaliputra and his rule was not confined only to Magadha (South Bihar), but it even stretched over Prayāga (Allahabad) and Sākata (Awadh or Oudh) regions along the Ganges valley. He died after a short reign nominating Samudragupta (his son by Kumāradevī) as his successor in view of the fact that he was the best fitted to be the heir-apparent to the throne.

SAMUDRA GUPTA

Samudra Gupta ascended the throne of the Gupta empire sometime after A.D. 320. From epigraphical sources it is not possible to fix the exact date of his accession to the throne. Probably, he came to the throne between 325 and 335 A.D.[4] and his capital city was Pāṭaliputra. As soon as he ascended the throne, he followed the policy of an aggressive ruler. He not only wanted to bring about the political unification of India, but his aim was to establish himself as the sole ruler (ekarāṭ) like Mahāpadma-Ugrasena. For these reasons he led expeditions against several kings of the north, i.e., Āryyāvarta and of the south, i.e., Dakshiṇāpatha.[5] In the north he played the role of a 'digvijayī' or 'conqueror of the quarters' of the early Magadhan type. The Arthaśāstra refers to this type of conquest as 'Asuravijaya' or 'demon's conquest'. But in the south he played the role of a 'dharmavijayī' or 'righteous conqueror' i.e., he conquered their territories but he did not occupy them.[6] The Allahabad Pillar Inscription, composed by his court-poet Harishena, gives a vivid description of his conquests and campaigns in the North and the South. He completed the subjugation of the Gangetic provinces as far as the Jumnā and the Chambal by violently exterminating the local princes of Āryyāvarta and also reduced the kings of forest countries of the Vindhyan region to the status of servants. In his southern campaigns he defeated and humbled many princes. But he did not annex these conquered territories which were ultimately restored to the former potentates on condition of their accepting the suzerainty of the Magadhan emperor. His imperious command was also obeyed by the pratyantanṛipatis or frontier kings of North-East India and the Himālayan region and the tribal states of the Punjab, Western India, Mālwā and the Central Provinces.[7] The foreign powers like the Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi (of the Kushāṇa dynasty) and the Śaka-Muruṇḍas as well as the people of Siṁhala (Ceylon—Sri Lanka) and all other dwellers in islands established diplomatic relations with him.[8] He is said to have crowned his military successes with the celebration of the aśvamedha sacrifice, probably at the end of his conquests. Thus by his military prowess he converted the small kingdom (extending from Magadha to Prayāga and Sāketa in the west) ruled over by his father into a vast empire rivalling that of Aśoka in power and splendour.

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[2] CCBMGD, Introduction, pp. XV-XVI; HNEI, pp. 6-7.

[3] HNEI, p. 7.

[4] CLA, p. 16,

[5] PHAI, pp. 534-542.

CHANDRA GUPTA II

Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya, born of queen Dattadevī, who ruled from c. A.D. 380 to 413. According to a late tradition Samudra Gupta who succeeded by his son Rāma Gupta whose reign intervened between that of his father and his younger brother Chandra Gupta II. But contemporary evidence represents Chandra Gupta II as the nominee and immediate successor of his father Samudra Gupta.[9] Pāṭaliputra remained as his capital city. But it seems that two other cities Ayodhyā and Ujjain attained prominence during his reign. He strengthened his position by giving his daughter Prabhāvatī in marriage with Rudrasena II, the Vākātaka king of Berar and the neighbouring regions. He engaged himself in war with the Śakas and annexed Western Mālwā and Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwār) wiith the Gupta dominions after destroying the power of the Śaka Satraps.[10] Thus he brought the sceptre of the Imperial Guptas to the shores of the Arabian sea.

KUMĀRA GUPTA I AND SKANDA GUPTA

Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya ascended the throne of the Gupta empire probably in c. 415 A.D. after the death of his father Chandra Gupta II. The

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6. Ibid., p. 537, f.n. 2.
7. PHAI, p. 543.
8. Ibid., pp. 546-547.
9. Ibid., p. 553, f.n. 2.
10. Ibid., p. 554.

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discovery of his coins and of his inscriptions in different places gives us an impression that he maintained the vast empire of his father which extended from North Bengal to Kāthiāwār and from the Himālayas to the Nerbuddā. He used the title Mahārājādhirāja and performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. But the last days of the king were not happy. Towards the close of his reign the Gupta empire was threatened by a formidable people known as the Pushyamitras living probably in the Narbuddā valley.[11] The crown-prince Skanda Gupta was sent against them and after a hard struggle he was able to restore the fallen fortunes of the Gupta family. The Victorious Prince Skanda Gupta succeeded his father in A.D. 455. But he had soon to face the invasions of the Huns, a barbarian and nomadic people who swooped down on the north-west provinces of the empire. But he succeeded in repelling their first attacks and his triumphal success against the barbarians entitled him to assume like his grandfather, Vikramāditya and also Kramāditya.[12] The reign of Skanda Gupta probably terminated about A.D. 467. After his death, the fortunes of the Gupta dynasty began to decline with a rapid speed, but did not wholly perish. His immediate successors Puru Gupta, Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya and Kumāra Gupta II had short reigns, amounting together to only ten years (A.D. 467-477). They, however, maintained some sort of unity of the Gupta empire till the days of Budha Gupta (A.D. 476-495), though they might have lost some of the western-most provinces. Although the Gupta empire decayed after Skanda Gupta had passed away, the Gupta dynasty maintained its existence and continued to rule in parts of Central and Eastern India till the seventh century.[13]

Skanda Gupta was succeeded on the throne of Magadha and its adjoining districts by his brother Puru Gupta, the son of Kumāra Gupta I.[14] He seems to have been an old man and ruled for a very brief period. His son Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya succeeded him in 467 A.D. After Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya, Kumāra Gupta II and Budha Gupta ascended the throne in gradual succession. Buddha Gupta, son of Puru Gupta was perhaps the last prince of the family whose sway was obeyed on the banks of the Lower Ganges as well as the Narmadā. He ruled for about twenty years. The rulers who came after him could retain some hold for some time on Eastern Mālwā and North Bengal. But they had to face enemies on all sides. The Huns renewed their incursions and succeeded in occupying the Punjab and Central India. The Viceregal families gradually assumed independence and set up independent kingdoms in different parts of the Gupta empire.

The age of the Guptas is frequently described as an era of Brāhmanic imperial renovation and of Sanskritic renaissance. It is said that Brāhmanism received an impetus during this period and became the most popular religion of the country. The Gupta rulers played an important role in the progress and development of Brāhmanism. But it is to be noted here that they also made an important contribution to the progress and prosperity of Buddhism which obtained a firm hold on certain sections of the people. They showed their liberal outlook in religious affairs and under their noble patronage Bhāgavatism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Sun-worship, Śaktism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished side by side in the extensive Gupta empire. That is why this age is remarkable in the history of the religion in India because of their religious toleration.

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[11] Ibid., pp. 568-569.

[12] PHAI, p. 577.

[13] Ibid., p. 581.

[14] Ibid., pp. 485-486.

It is known from the Chinese source that a Mahārāja Gupta or Śrī Gupta, the first ruler of the Gupta dynasty, founded a Buddhist temple and offered it with a gift of twenty-four villages to the Buddhist monks from China.[15] Hwui Li ascribed to 665 A.D. refers to the following account of I-tsing: "The old story goes that this temple (Mṛgaśikhāvana) was built by Śrī Gupta for the use of priests from China. At this time there were some monks, twenty or so in number, who, having wandered away from Szchuen by the road known as Ko-yang came out near the Mahābodhi and there offered their worship. The king moved with reverence on account of their piety, gave them a village of considerable extent, where they might remain and finally settle . . . twenty-four places in all . . . . This occurred some five hundred years ago or so."[16] This record indicates that there was a Gupta ruler named Śrī Gupta about A.D. 175, i.e., five hundred years prior to the record of I-tsing. But the founder of the Gupta dynasty cannot be placed more than four hundred years before the time of I-tsing. So it is very dfficult to accept the statement of I-tsing regarding the Gupta ruler called Śrī Gupta, who is regarded by some scholars as the progenitor of the Imperial Guptas. But J. Allan says that this Śrī Gupta was the founder of the Imperial Gupta but he does not accept the date as recorded by the Chinese traveller I-tsing.[17] J.F. Fleet mentions that Śrī Gupta of Chinese tradition cannot be identified with the progenitor of the Imperial Guptas.[18] The identity can, however, be maintained if we make some allowance for the pilgrim's calculation and regard the number of years as only an approximate figure.

Hiuen Tsang also mentions Śrī Gupta.[19] He states that he was at first a persecutor of Buddhists but later on became a follower of Buddhism. "To the north of this place not far off, (Rājagṛha) there is a very deep ditch, by this side of which is built a stūpa; this is the spot where Śrī Gupta (She-li-kio-to) wished to destroy Buddha by means of fire concealed in the ditch and poisoned rice." But the Buddha performed a miracle and Śrī Gupta became his disciple. It shows that Śrī Gupta was a contemporary of the Buddha. But it may be concluded that the pilgrim "may have hazarded such a statement on hearsay evidence only."

[15] IA, X, 1881, pp. 109 ff; JRASGB, XIII, part II, 1882, pp. 570 ff.
[16] QJMS, XXIV, No. 3, pp. 218-223; LGA, p. 514.
[17] CCBMGD, Introduction, p. XV; LGA, p. 515.
[18] LGA, p. 515; CII, III, pp. 8-9, f.n. 3.
[19] LGA, p. 515; BRWW, I, pp. 151-152; LHT, pp. 113-114.

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It should be mentioned here that this shrine of Mṛgaśikhāvana maintained its importance as a sacred place till the seventh century A.D. Hwui Li describes : "Afterwards the Tang priests, having died out, the village and its land attached came into the possession of alliens, and now these persons belonging to Mṛgaśikhāvana Temple occupy it. This occurred some 500 years or so. The territory now belongs to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarmā. He has given back the temple and its land to the villagers to avoid the expenses of keeping it up, as he would have to do, if many priests came there."[20] This Devavarmā who ruled in the 7th century probably was connected with the later Maukhari rulers.

All these facts mentioned above show that Buddhism received a favourable treatment from king Śri Gupta. But the evidence is not enough to determine the religion which he professed. The construction of the Buddhist monument under his personal care may point out that either Buddhism was his religion or he personally took interest in it, although he was not a Buddhist. The only thing which is clear to us is that Buddhism was patronised by him.

Samudra Gupta was a follower of the orthodox Brāhmanical religion with a special devotion to Vishṇu. The prominence of Brāhmanism in the reign of Samudra Gupta is understood by his epithet 'cirotsannāśvamedhāhartuḥ' which indicates that 'he performed the horse-sacrifices which was long in abeyance before him and it was he who again put it into practice.'[21] Probably he was a follower of Vishṇu. The emblem of Gauḍa, the vehicle or the carrier of Vishṇu on his coins, the word 'garuḍmad-aṅka', the figure of Garuḍa on his official seal, the figure of Lakshmi, the consort of Vishṇu on his coins show that he was a worshipper of Vishṇu.[22]

In spite of the prominent position held by Brāhmanism in the reign of Samudra Gupta, Buddhism never existed in a neglected condition. The religion also flourished under his patronage. In his youth he extended his royal favour to Vasubandhu, the celebrated Buddhist scholar[23] and an author of several Buddhist philosophical works. It is said that at the request of his father Chandra Gupta I, Samudra Gupta in his early age studied Buddhism and the doctrinal philosophy of Vasubandhu under the guidance of the celebrated Buddhist philosopher and teacher. This fact helps us to estimate the importance of Buddhism and the popularity of Vasubandhu in the reign of both Chandra Gupta I and Samudra Gupta. Undoubtedly, the Buddhist philosopher occupied a prominent place in the religious world during this period and was patronised by kings, nobles and intellectual people. Samudra Gupta, after his accession to the throne, appointed

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[20] LGA, p. 516; IA, X, pp. 109-110.

[21] IHQ, XIII, 1937, p. 323; XV, 1939, No. 1, p. 2; CII, III, part II, pp. 42, 47.

[22] IHQ, XV, 1929, p. 2; CII, III, part II, pp. 1-17.

[23] EHI, pp. 298, 305, 347.

Vasubandhu probably as a minister or an intimate counsellor in his government[24] out of gratitude and respect for his eminent Teacher and Guide.

Samudra Gupta's reign is also important in the history of Buddhism because of the establishment of cultural relations between India and Ceylon. From the account of the Chinese traveller Wang Hiuen ts'e[25] of the seventh century A.D. it is known that during the reign of Chi-mi-kia-po-mo i.e., Śrī Meghavarman or Meghavarṇa, the Buddhist king of Chen-tzen i.e., Ceylon, two Ceylonese Buddhist monks, viz., Mahānāma and Upa came to Bodh-Gayā to pay homage to the Diamond Throne and to visit the monastery constructed by Aśoka. But they could not find any suitable accommondation to stay there. When they went back, they reported the matter to their king, Meghavarṇa, who immediately sent an embassy to Samudra Gupta, seeking his permission to erect a monastery for Ceylonese pilgrims near the holy tree. Samudra Gupta gave his permission to the Ceylonese king, who built a monastery with great splendour at Bodh-Gayā.

The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang,[26] who visited India in the seventh century A.D. refers to the same story with little variations. He describes that a brother of a king of Ceylon became an ascetic and visited the sacred places in India. But he found great difficulty to stay comfortably in all the monasteries in India. After going back to his country, he requested his brother, the Ceylonese king, to build monasteries at the sacred places throughout India. The king despatched an embassy with costly presents to the Indian king Mahā Śrī Rāja, who gave his permission to construct a monastery at one of the sacred places "where the Tathāgata had left traces of his presence." The monastery which was known as the Mahābodhi monastery was erected by the king of Ceylon with the approval of Mahā Śri Rāja of India. But there is no reference to the name of the Ceylonese king in Hiuen Tsang's account. Even the Indian king is mentioned only as Mahā Śri Rāja. V.A. Smith says that the Gupta kings always used Śrī before their names and had their title Mahārājādhirāja. Hiuen Tsang refers to one envoy, who was brother of the king of Ceylon. In spite of the differences of the descriptions of the accounts of the Chinese travellers; scholars like V.A. Smith, Sylvain Levi and W. Geiger have agreed that the Mahābodhi monastery near the northern wall of the Bodhi tree enclosure was erected by king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon with the permission of the Indian king Samudra Gupta and the Ceylonese monks lived there till the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang also mentions that about one thousand monks of the Sthavira school of the Mahāyāna used to live in this monastery during his visit.

Two inscriptions found at Bodh-Gayā may help us to corroborate the

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24. Ibid., p. 347.
25. JNA, NS, XV, Mars-Avril, 1900, pp. 316-317; IA, XXXI, 1902, pp. 192-193; 257; MV p. XXXIX.
26. IA., XXXI, 1902, pp. 192-195; BRWW, II, pp. 133-135.

statements of the abovementioned Chinese pilgrims. Both of them refer to the name of Mahānāma. The number one which is dated in the year 269 describes : "... His disciples, greater (even than himself), (is) he who has the appropriate name of Mahānāman; an inhabitant of Āmaradvipa; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of Laṅkā; delighting in the welfare of others; by him this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of the God Smara—dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides . . . has been caused to be made at the exalted Bodhimaṇḍa . . . ."[27] The second one, which has no date, states "Om ! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikshu, the Sthavira Mahānāman, a resident of Āmradvīpa. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings."[28]

These two inscriptions support us in an indirect way to indentify Mahānāma, the Ceylonese envoy of the description of Wang Hiuen ts'e with Mahānāma of these two inscriptions. If we agree with Sylvain Levi regarding the date of the composition of the first inscription in 347 A.D., i.e., during the reign of Samudra Gupta, we may say that in his reign a Ceylonese monk named Mahānāma, who was probably the same Mahānāma of the Chinese traveller, visited Bodh-Gayā.

The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims described above give a clear picture of Buddhism in the reign of Samudra Gupta whose important contribution to the Buddhist world had caused Buddhism to intensify its activities during this period. It seems that as a true patron he showed his loyal attitude towards it. H.C. Raychaudhuri while comparing him with Aśoka, the Maurya emperor, observes : "Samudra Gupta favoured poetry as well as the Śāstra, while Aśoka seems to have specialised in spiritual studies alone. The former undertook military campaigns with the object of sarva-pṛithivi-jaya, conquest of the whole earth, as known to his panegyrist, the latter eschewed military conquest after the Kaliṅga war and organised missions to effect Dharma-Vijaya, conquest of the hearts of men, in three continents. Yet in spite of these differences there was much that was common to these remarkable men. Both laid stress on parākrama, ceaseless exertion in the cause in which they believed. Both expressed solicitude for the people committed to their care, and were kind even to vanquished enemies. And both laid emphasis on Dharma. Samudra Gupta, no less than Dharmāśoka, made firm the rampart of the true law (Dharma-prāchirabandaḥ)."[29]

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[27] IA., XV, 1886, pp. 358-359 :
"... Āmradvīpādhivāsī pṛithukula-jaladhir-tasya śishyo mahiyān Laṅkā-dvīpā-prasūtaḥ para-hita-nirataḥ san-Mahānāma-rāmā ten-ochchair-vvo (bho)dhimaṇḍe śaśikara-dhvalaḥ sarvvato maṇḍapena . . . ."

[28] IA., XV, 1886, p. 369 :
"Oṁ Deya-dharmmo-yaṁ Śākya-bhikshoḥ Āmradvīpa-vāsīsthavira-Mahānāmas-ya. Yad-atra puṇyam tad-bhavatu sarvva-sat(t)vānām—anuttara-jñān-āvāptaye-stṇ."

[29] PHAI., p. 550.

From epigraphical sources as well as numismatic evidences it is known that Samudra Gupta's son Chandra Gupta II was a worshipper of the Lord Vishṇu. His inscriptions describe him as Paramabhāgavata, i.e., a devout follower of Bhagavat, that is Vishṇu, and the use of Cakra-Vikrama type of coins by him also shows that he was a Vaiṣṇva.[30] Śaivism was also practised in his kingdom. The Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandra Gupta II[31] mentions that one Virasena of the Kautsa gotra at Udayagiri erected a cave for the Lord Śambhu or Śiva in the reign of Chandra Gupta II. The Mathurā Pillar inscription of Chandra Gupta II[32] also informs us that Uditāchārya installed two images of Śiva, viz. Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara in a hall during the rule of Chandra Gupta II.

The presence of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism in the reign of Chandra Gupta II did not retard the progress of Buddhism, which did not suffer from any hindrance in its activities. It attained prominence under the patronage of this enlightened ruler, who followed a liberal policy for the development of each and every religion that originated in his kingdom and gave full freedom and protection to the followers of all faiths. He never hesitated to appoint men to high offices irrespective of cast and creed. His military general Āmrakārddava was possibly a Buddhist and the role played by him for the progress of Buddhism was remarkable. The Sāñchī Stone inscription of Chandra Gupta II describes thus : "Perfection has been attained ! To the community of the faithful in the holy great vihāra of Kākanādabota, in which the organs of sense (of the members of it) have been subdued by the virtues (good) character, religious meditation, and wisdom; which deeds of the very highest religious merit; which has come together from the four-quarters of the world; (and) which is the abode of most excellent Śramaṇas . . . having prostrated himself in an assembly of five persons, Āmrakārdava, the son of Undāna . . . whose means of subsistence have been made comfortable by the favour of the Mohārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandra Gupta (II); who is publishing in the world the amiable behaviour of the virtuous people who are the dependents (of the king); who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles; (and) who is an inhabitant of (the town of) Nashṭi . . . in the Sukulī desha,. . . gives (the village or allotment of) Iśvaravāsaka . . . purchased with the endowment of Maja and Śarabhanga and Amrarata of the royal household and (also gives) twenty-five dināras.

"From (the interest of the dināras) given by him with half, as long as the moon and sun (endure), let five Bhikkhus be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel house, for the protection of all the virtuous of . . . the familiar name of Devarāja . . . of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandra Gupta (II) and with the other half, which is mine, let the same number of five Bhikkhus be fed, and (let) a lamp (burn) in the jewel house.

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[30] Ibid., p. 559; CGE., pp. 145 ff; HNEI., p. 49.

[31] CII, III, part II, p. 25.

[32] EI, XXI, 1931-32, pp. 1-9.

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"Whosoever shall interfere with this arrangement . . . he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the slaughter of a cow or of a Brāhmana, and with (the guilt of) the five sins that entail immediate retribution.

"The year 90 (and) 3; (the month) Bhadrapada; the day 4."[33]"

This shows that Buddhism, as one of the important religions in the kingdom of Chandra Gupta II, continued to flourish and was favoured by the people. We are informed from the epigraphic records that during the reign of Samudra Gupta Bodh-Gayā became an important centre of Buddhism; in Chandra Gupta II's time Sāñchī also occupied a prominent place of Buddhism.

There are two other inscriptions which give us useful information relating to the flourishing condition of Buddhism during Chandra Gupta II's time. There is no reference to the name of the king in them. But on palaeographical ground we may say that they belong to Chandra Gupta II's time. It is generally agreed that the era mentioned in these inscriptions is the Gupta era.[34] The first inscription, found near a small ruined temple close to the south gate of the railing of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā, states : "A monk, who was a teacher of the Vinaya, and who was the companion of another monk, who was also a teacher of the Vinaya caused one Simharatha to dedicate this image of the Bodhisattva, evidently the one on which it is incised, with the help of two other persons, one of whom is a female lay devotee and the other an expounder of the holy text in the reign of

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[33] CII, III, pp. 31-34 :
  1. Siddham ka(kana) dabota-sri-mahā-vihāre-sīla-samādhi-prajñā-guṇa-bhāvitendriyāya parama-puṇya.
  2. kṛi . . . tāya chatur-ddig abhyāgatāya . . . śramaṇa pungav-āvasathāy-āryya saṁghāya mahārājādhi.
  3. ra(ja-śr(i))-Chandragupta-pāda-prasād-āpyāyita-jivita sādharaḥ anujīvisatpurusha sadbhāva
  4. vṛi(ttim) jagati prakhyāpayāṅ aneka-samarāvāpta-vijaya-yaśas patākaḥ sukuli-deśa-na
  5. shṭi . . . vāstavya Undāma-putr-Āmrakarddavo . . . Maja Sarabhang- Āmrarāta-rājakula-mulya-krī
  6. tam . . . ya . . . Isvaravasakaṁ pañcha-maṇḍalyā(ṁ) praṇipatya dadāti pañcha vimśatis(ṅ) . . . cha dīnā
  7. raṁ (II) Ta (d-da)tta . . . yād . . . arddhena mahārājādhirāja . . . Śrī Chandraguptasya Devarāja iti pri . . .
  8. Ya-nām . . . y . . . tasya . . . sarvva-guna-sampattaye yāvach-chandr-ādityan tāvat-pañcha bhikshavo bhumja.
  9. tāṁ ratna-grihe (cha dī) pako jvalatu (I) nama ch-āparārddhāt-puñch-aiva bhikshavo bhumjatām ratna-gṛihe cha
  10. dīpaka iti (II) Tad-etat-pravṛittaṁ ya uchchhiṇdyāt-sa go-brahma-hatyaya saṁ-yukto bhavet-pañchabhis-ch-āna
  11. ntaryyair-iti (II) sam 90 3 Bhādrapada di 4 (II)

[34] ARAṢI., II, 1922-23, p. 169; EI., XVI, 1921-22, p. 15.

Mahārāja Trikamala in the year 64, on the fifth day of the third summer month."[35] It seems that Mahārāja Trikamala was a feudatory king of the Gupta monarch.[36] The year 64, which may be taken as the year of the Gupta era, is A.D. 383 and it may fall within the reign of Chandra Gupta II.[37]

The second inscription which was engraved round the shoulder of a copper cauldron was found at Shorkot in the Punjab. It describes : "In the year 83, in (the month) Māgha, the bright fortnight, the fifth day, dedicated by the Vaiyābṛityakara Buddhadāsa to the universal congregation of friars of the Sarvastivāda sect at the Rādhika convent in the park of Sibipura."[38] J. Ph. Vogel takes the year 83 as the Gupta era which may be taken as equivalent to A.D. 402-403. Therefore, the inscription belongs to the reign of Chandra Gupta II and reminds us of the prominence of the Sarvāstivāda sect in the north-western side of India at that time. The Sibis, a famous tribe of ancient India, played a significant role in Indian politics. Probably, the place Sibipura received its name from the name of the tribe.

A stone inscription[39] found at Dasapura (now known as Mandasor) in the Gwālior district in Madhya Pradesh mentions Chandra Gupta II and his younger son Govinda Gupta. It refers to the construction of a well endowed with a stūpa, a garden and a prapa (water stall) by Dattabhata, commander-in-chief of the forces of king Prabhakara, in the Malava Samvat 524 (A.D. 467-68). This Dattabhata, the donor, was a son of Govinda Gupta's general (Senādhipa) Vayurakshita. This epigraphical record bears testimony to the establishment of a Buddhist monument at Mandasor which was an important centre of Brāhmanism. The reference to Chandra Gupta II and his son Govinda Gupta may indicate their close connections with the Buddhist activities in this region.

From the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, who visited India at the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[40] we receive information about the progress of

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[35] ARASI., II, 1922-23, p. 169 :

1. Mahārājasya Trikamalasya sa 60 4 grī 3 di 5 (eta)sya purvvāya bhikshu vinayadharasya vihārasya sadivihari vina(yadhara) (bhikshu)
2. matyadharavihāra svakena sama·tho srama (na)kā Bodhisatva patimā sihartha pratisthāpayati upāsikaya arthaodharma-sahāyitiya Dhanna . . . taka . . . ye savva
3. . . . (sa)hāyatā dharmakathikena Dha. na II imena kuśalamūlena mātāpituṇaṁ pujāye bhavatu upadha (ya) . . . jāye . . . dha . . . dhi.

[36] IHQ., XXXII, no. I, 1956, p. 190.

[37] ARASI., II, 1922-23, p. 169.

[38] EI, XVI, 1921-22, p. 15 :
Saṁ 80+3 Māgha-Śukla-di 5 (vai)
Yābrityakara-Buddhadās-otthāpi (ta) II
Sibipuropavana-Rādhika-vi(ha)ra-
chāturdiśa-sarbāstivādā bhikshu-saṅghasya.

[39] IHQ., XXXII, no. I, 1956, pp. 200-201; ARASI. 1922-23, p. 187.

[40] TF., p. lv; ARBK., p. 79.

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Buddhism during Chandra Gupta's period. It is rather strange that the Chinese traveller, who spent about six years (A.D. 405-411) in the kingdom of Chandra Gupta neither mentioned the name of the latter nor referred to the feudatory kings. But apart from it, his account is very helpful to draw a definite conclusion relating to the administrative system, social condition and the position of Buddhism in the reign of Chandra Gupta II. Buddhism had exercised a great influence upon the lives of all classes of people during his rule. From the pilgrim's account[41] we know that no one killed any living thing or drank wine or ate onions or garlic. Nobody kept pigs or fowls. There were no butchers' shops or distilleries in the market places. What we observe from it is that the Buddhist way of life was generally accepted by the people at that time. The Buddhist monks and monasteries were patronised by the king, his officials and his subjects. The Chinese pilgrim's statement shows that Buddhism made a massive contribution to the social and religious history of the country and it prospered in Chandra Gupta's kingdom as a popular religion.

Fa-hien at Pāṭaliputra saw two monasteries,—one was Hīnayāna, and the other was Mahāyāna, which were occupied by six or seven hundred Buddhist monks. There lived at the latter monastery the famous Buddhist teacher Raivata (or Revata), "a strikingly enlightened man of much wisdom, there being nothing which he did not understand. All the country looked up to him and relied upon this one man to diffuse widely the Faith in Buddha."[42] The above mentioned two Buddhist institutions became well known for their reputed teachers whose valuable services to Buddhism had established it at the height of its popularity in this part of northern India. The main object of Fa-hien's visit was to collect copies of sacred works, legends, miracles and to study Buddhism in India. But he mentioned that "in various countries of north India, the sacred works were handed down orally from one Patriarch to another, there being no written volume which he could copy." Most probably at Pāṭaliputra he found a copy of the Discipline, "a further transcript of same running to 7,000 stanzas as used by the Sarvāstivāda school which also had been handed down orally from Patriarch to Patriarch without being committed to writing, extracts from the Abhidharma in about 6,000 stanzas, and a complete copy of a Sūtra in 2,500 stanzas as well as a roll of the Vaipulya Parinirvāṇa Sūtra in 5,000 stanzas."[43] It was for this reason he spent about three years at Pāṭaliputra. There he studied Sanskrit and engaged himself in copying out the Disciplines. He also described, the annual procession of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images in the city on the eighth day of the second month. He relates that "Pāṭaliputra is the largest city in the whole Middle kingdom. The people are rich and prosperous and vie with each other in performing good deeds. Every years in celebration of the eighth day of the second month they hold an image procession. They use a four-wheeled cart on which five tiers are constructed in bamboo, with a halberd-shaped central post about twenty feet high, the whole structure resembling a pagoda. This is covered with white woollen cloth, printed with various devas in colour, adorned with gold, silver and glass, and hung with silk pennants and canopies. There are four shrines on the four sides, each containing a seated Buddha, attended by standing Bodhisattvas . . . . The elders and laymen of this country have established charitable hospitals in the city, to which all the poor, homeless, deformed and ill can go. Here all their wants are supplied and the physicians who attend them prescribe the food and medicine they require. When cured, they are free to leave."[44]

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[41] TF., pp. 322-296; EHI., p. 314.

[42] GE., pp. 62-63.

[43] GE., p. 64.

Fa-hien, in course of his journey, visited the Punjab where he saw many monasteries with 10,000 monks. He visited Mathurā on the Jamunā. Here he found about twenty monasteries with some 3,000 monks. At Benares he saw two monasteries which were inhabited by monks. He then came to Tamluk, a sea-port in Bengal. Here he spent two years and visited twenty-four monasteries. This place was an important centre of Buddhism during his visit to India. Thus apart from the epigraphical sources, the pilgrim's account also bears ample evidence to the progress of Buddhism in the reign of Chandra Gupta II.

Like his predecessors, Kumāra Gupta I showed his liberal outlook towards all religions which developed in his kingdom. It was because of his tolerant policy that the votaries of all creeds in their religious pursuits and benefactions acted freely and gifts were offered to the different deities in his reign. Several inscriptional records and numismatic documents bear testimony to the prevalence of various religions during his rule. The Bilsad Stone Pillar inscription of Kumāra Gupta I[45] of the year 96 (A.D. 415 or 416) records the construction of a gateway with flight of steps and the erection of a charitable hall in the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsena (Kārttikeya) by one Dhruvaśarman. The Karmdāṇḍā Stone Liṅga inscription of the year 117 (A.D. 436)[46] states that Pṛithīvīsena, a minister of Kumāra Gupta I, made a gift for the worship of the god Pṛithivīśvara (Mahādeva or the Liṅga). The Dāmodara Copper-plate grant of A.D. 443[47] mentions that in order to help a Brāhmaṇa to celebrate his agnihotra rites, government sold land to him. The Baigrām Cooper-plate grant of the Gupta era 128 (A.D. 447 or 448)[48] refers to the donation of land to the temple of the god Govinda-svāmī (evidently a Vishnuite deity). All these records give an idea about the importance of Brāhmanism in the kingdom of Kumāra Gupta I. His reign also witnessed the prevalence of Jainism. The Udayagiri cave inscription of the year 106 (A.D. 425 or 426) in Mālvā records the establishment of an image of

[44] ARBK., pp. 60-61; EHNI., p. 172.
[45] CII., III, part II, pp. 42-45.
[46] EI., X, 1909-1910, pp. 70-72.
[47] EI., XV, 1919-20, pp. 113 ff.
[48] EI., XXI, 1931-32, pp. 78-83. The Gupta era 319+128=447.

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Jina-vara Pārśva at the mouth of a cave by Śaṅkara, who was a disciple of Gośarman.[49] Another inscription which is known as the Mathurā Jain Image inscription of the Gupta year 113 (A.D. 432 or 433) records the erection of a Jaina image at Mathurā by a lady.[50]

Several Buddhist inscriptions of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I found at different places prove that Buddhism, as one of the principal religions, continued to play a prominent role in the religious history of the country in his reign. An inscription of the year 129 (A.D. 448) found at Mankuwār in the Allahabad district records: "Om! Reverence to the Buddhas! This image of the Divine One, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge; (and) who was never refuted in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the Bhikkhu Buddhamitra . . . (in) the year 100 (and) 20 (and) 9; in the reign of the Mahārāja, the glorious Kumāra Gupta; (in) the month Jyeshtha; (on) the day 10 (and) 8, with the object of averting all unhappiness."[51] K.P. Pathak and Radha Kumud Mookerji have identified Bhikshu Buddhamitra of the inscription with Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu.[52]

The second Buddhist inscription known as the Sāñchi Stone inscription of the year 131 (A.D. 450-451) states: "Perfection has been attained! By the Upāsikā Harisvāminī, the wife of the Upāsak Sanasiddha, for the sake of (her) parents, twelve dināras are given, (as) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from four quarters of the world, at the holy great vihāra of Kākanadabota. With the interest that accrues of these dināras, day by day one Bhikshu, who has been introduced into community should be fed.

Also three dināras are given in the jewel-house. With the interest of these three dināras, day by day, three lamps of the divine Buddha should be lit in the jewel-house.

"Also, one dināra is given in the place where (the images of) the four Buddhas are seated. With the interest of this, day by day a lamp of the divine Buddha should be lit in the place where (the images of) the four Buddhas are seated.

"Thus this permanent endowment . . . written upon stone (so as to endure) for the same time with the moon and the sun, has been accomplished by the Upāsikā Harisvāminī, the noble lady, the wife of Sansiddha.

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[49] CII., III, part III, pp. 258-260.

[50] CII., III, part III, p. 258.

[51] CII., III, pp. 45-47 :
   1. Oṁ Namo Budhāna (i) Bhagavato samyak-sambuddhasya svamat-āviruddhasya iyaṁ pratimā pratishṭhāpita bhikshu-Buddhamitreṇa
   2. 2 Samvat 100 20 9 mahārāja-Śrī-Kumāraguptasya rājye Jyeshtha-māsa-di 10 8 sarvva-dukkha-prabhān (ṇ)-ārthhaṁ (II).

[52] IA., XLI, 1912, p. 244; TGE., p. 78.

"The year 100 (and) 30 (and) 1; (the month) Aśvayuj, the day 5."[53]

The third Buddhist inscription of the year 135 (A.D. 454-455) found at Mathura records : "In a century of years, increased by the thirty-fifth (year), (or in figures) 100 (and) 30 (and) 5; in the month Pushya; on the twentieth day, (or in figures) the day 20; this is the appropriate religious gift of the Vihārasvāminī Devatā. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), . . . let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (her) parents and by all sentient beings.

Good fortune; the condition of being a model (worthy imitation), abounding in virtuous qualities; fame; the destruction of the enemies (of religion); riches abounding in prosperity, births that result in happiness; (and) finally an auspicious Nirvāṇa; (all these) are not permanent; having once fixed the thoughts upon the happiness of making gifts."[54]

All these documents indicate the prosperity of Buddhism in the reign of Kumāra Gupta I. But these are the records of the common people whose valuable services had placed Buddhism in the religious world as one of the most important religions of the country during this period. It is to be noted here that direct evidence of the king's patronage to it is not known from any source but from its attainment and popularity in his reign, we may presume that it was the king who deserves enormous credit for its glorious achievements. Because his liberal policy was an important factor to help it to flourish to a great extent.

The next ruler was Skanda Gupta, who like his forefathers was a tolerant king. Several religions were prevalent in his kingdom during his reign. The Bhitarī Pillar inscription[55] of Skanda Gupta describes the installation of an image of the god Vishṇu by him. It shows that he was a follower of Vishṇu. The Junagadh Rock inscription of the year 138 (A.D. 457-458)[56] begins with an invocation to the god Vishṇu and refers to the erection of a temple of the Cakrabhṛt, probably Vishṇu. The Bihar Stone Pillar inscription[57] ascribed to the reign of Skanda Gupta records the construction of a pillar and the establishment of several temples for the deity Skanda (Kārttikeya) and the divine Mothers. The Indor Copper-plate inscription of the year 146 (A.D. 465-466)[58] states that a gift was made by one Devavishṇu for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the sun. All these inscriptions speak of the predominance of Brāhmanism in the reign of Skanda Gupta. The existence of Jainism is also proved by the evidence of the Kahaum Stone Pillar inscription[59] which records the establishment of five stone images of Ādikartṛis or Tīthaṁkaras, viz., Ādinātha, Sāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśva and Mahāvira in the niches of a pillar of stone. No evidence relating to Skanda Gupta's allegiance to Buddhism is found either from any epigraphical source or from any historical document. But the absence of any positive evidence does not mean any lack of his sympathy towards Buddhism. Like his predecessors most probably his attitude to the Buddhist world was liberal and friendly, although no direct proof for this assumption is yet forthcoming.

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[53] CII., III, pp. 261-262 :

1. S(iddha)m (II) Upāsaka-Sanasiddha-bhāryyayā upāsik(ā)-Harisvāminyā mātā
2. pitram-uddiśya Kākanādabota-Śrí-mahā-vihāre chāturddisāy-āryya-saṁ
3. ghāya akshaya-nīvī dattā dīnāra dvādaśa(i) eshāṁ dīnārānām ya vṛiddhi . . .
4. r. . .upājāyate tayā divase-divase saṁgha-madhya-pravishṭaka-bhikshur-ekaḷi-bhoja
5. yitavyaḥ (II) ratna-gṛihe-pi dināra-trayaṁ dattaṁ (I) (ta)d-dīnāre-trayasya vṛi(d)dhyā ratna-gṛihe
6. bhagavato Suddhasya divase-divase dīpa-trayaṁ prajvāla-yitavyaṁ (II) chatur-Buddhāsa
7. ne-pi dattaḥ dīnāra ekaḥ (I) taşya vṛiddhyā chatur-Buddhāsane bhagavato Buddhasya
8. divase-divase dīpaaḥ prajvāla-yitavyaḥ (II) Evaṁ-esh-ākshaya-nīvi
9. a-chandr-ārkka-śila-lekhyā svāminī-Sanasiddha-bhāryyayā
10. Upāsik(ā)-Harisvāminyā parivarttitā iti (II).
11. Samvat 100 30 1 aśvagug . . . di 5.

[54] CII., III, pp. 262-264 :

1. Saṁvvatasara . . . śate paṁcha-striś-ottaratame 100 30 5 Pushya māse divase vi(m)ś(e) di 20 (I) Deya-dham(O)-yaṁ vihāra-svāminy(ā)
2. Devtāyā (II) yad-atra puṇyam tad-bhavato mātā pitroḥ sarvva-sat (t)vānāñ-cha anuttara-jñān-āptaye
3. Saubhāgyaṁ pratiru (rū) patā gunavatī kirttis-sapatna-kshayaḥ śrīmam (t) o vibhavā bhavā(ḥ) sukhaphalā nirvvānam-aṁte sivaṁ
4. a stabdhā ni bhavantu dāna-niratan chittaṁ niyojyaikada . . . vichā (tā)rana . . . dhiyạm . . . ị . . . yaṁ.

Traces of the patronage to Buddhism during the rule of Skanda Gupta's successors are available by the discovery of epigraphical records. Several sources afford us materials for the study of the religious history of the country of the period. It is evident from them that most of these rulers demonstrated their goodwill towards the Buddhists and in their reign Buddhism flourished steadily. King Puru Gupta Vikrama Prakaśāditya, a brother of Skanda Gupta, has been mentioned by Hiuen Tsang[60] in his account as Śakrāditya, which probably was his another appellation. We know further from his record that the king revered the three gems, i.e., the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and as a zealous patron of Buddhism, he built a monastery at Nālandā, the great centre of Buddhist learning in those days.

It is known from Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu that Vasubandhu rendered valuable service to popularise Buddhism in the reign of king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā and his son Bālāditya. Paramārtha in his work states[61] that king Vikramāditya became a great devotee of Buddhism under the influence of the

[55] CII., III, part II, pp. 52-56.
[56] Ibid., III, part II, pp. 56-65.
[57] Ibid., III, part II, pp. 47-52.
[58] Ibid., III, part II, pp. 68-72.
[59] CII., III, part II, pp. 65-68.
[60] OYC., II, p. 165; BRWW., II, p. 168.
[61] GE., p. 105; EHNI., p. 189.

great Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu. From his work we know further that at the king's request the latter became tutor of his queen probably Śrī Vatsadevī or Vainyadevī or Śrī Chandradevī and the crown prince Bālāditya, who after his accession to the throne at the death of his father, invited Vasubandhu to come to his court at Ayodhyā. It seems that king Bālāditya invited him to organise the Buddhist institutions and to intensify the Buddhist activities in his kingdom. Several coins of Puru Gupta with the title of Śrī Vikrama were found.[62] From it H.C. Raychaudhuri and Radha Kumud Mookerji think that he assumed the title of Vikramāditya also.[63] Because king Chandra Gupta II had the title of Śrī Vikrama on his Archer type of his coins and Vikramāditya on his Chhatra type. J. Allan[64] believes that king Puru Gupta issued the heavy Archer type of coins with the title of Śrī Vikrama and he mentions that he was king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya. But, according to S.K. Saraswati,[65] the coins, which have been attributed to Puru Gupta by J. Allan, do not belong to him. He thinks that Budha Gupta issued the coins. Jagan Nath[66] rejected his views and he opined that the coins really belonged to Puru Gupta. We also learn from the coins that Narasiṁha Gupta was known as Bālāditya, which corroborates the statement of Paramārtha. But there is a controversy regarding the date of Vasubandhu. According to J. Takakusu,[67] Vasubandhu flourished between (A.D. 420 and 500). N. Peri[68] thinks that the Buddhist scholar lived in the fourth century A.D. and he died in the middle of that century which suggests that he was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II. The identification of Bālāditya with Narasiṁha Gupta may suggest that Vasubandhu was a contemporary of the descendants of Chandra Gupta II, i.e., Kumāra Gupta I (A.D. 415-455), Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-467), Puru Gupta (A.D. 467), Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya (A.D. 467-473), Kumāra Gupta II (A.D. 473-476) and Budha Gupta (A.D. 476-495). But due to paucity of evidence, it is difficult to draw a definite conclusion on this point.

Narasiṁha Gupta Baladitya occupied the throne of the Gupta empire after Puru Gupta. He was a great patron of Buddhism. He erected at Nālandā a great monastery of more than 300 feet high, which, "according to Hiuen Tsang, was remarkable for the delicacy of its decorations and the lavish use of gold and gems in its furniture."[69] It is said further that for its size, magnificence and image of the Buddha, it resembled the Great Vihāra erected under the Bodhi tree.[70]

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[62] Ibid., p. 105; PHAI., p. 586.

[63] Ibid., p. 105; PHAI., p. 586.

[64] CCBMGD., pp. LXXX, XCVIII, pl. XXI, No. 23.

[65] IC., I, pp. 691-692.

[66] AIOC., 1946, Section IX, p. 11.

[67] JRASGB., 1905, pp. 44-53.

[68] BEFEO., XI, 1911, pp. 339-390; EHNI., p. 173, f.n. 150.

[69] EHI., p. 329; MCEGD., p. 94.

[70] BRWW., II, p. 173; OYC., II, p. 170.

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From Hiuen Tsang's account[71] we know that king Bālāditya invited Buddhist monks from all quarters as well as laymen to attend the formal opening ceremony of this great monastery. Two Buddhist monks from China also came there. But when the king went to meet these two holy persons, they disappeared suddenly from that place in a mysterious way. This event made a great effect upon the mind of the king who after leaving this world became a Buddhist monk and joined the Saṅgha and stayed in the monastery erected by him. Because of the rules of seniority, his position was at the below of all the Buddhist monks in the monastery. For this change he appealed to the Buddhist monks who introduced a new rule that those who were not fully ordained in the monastery, should be placed according to their age. It is the only monastery where this rule was introduced. No epigraphic record is yet available to corroborate the statement of the Chinese traveller. But we believe that like other rulers of the Gupta dynasty, king Bālāditya patronised Buddhism and made an effort to infuse new life. His seal was found at Nālandā, an important centre of Buddhism. N.N. Das Gupta[72] thinks that the discovery of his seal at Nālandā suggests that as a true patron of Buddhism he was closely connected with the Buddhist Nālandā University which was then rising up very fastly. But N.N. Das Gupta says that it is quite absurd to think of him as a Buddhist disciple of Vasubandu before he became king as mentioned by Paramārtha in his Life of Vasubandhu. He rajects it as fictitious on the ground that Narasiṁha Gupta's own seal refers to him as a Paramabhāga (vata).[73] Most of the Gupta rulers, it is quite true, were known as the Paramabhāgavatas or true followers of the Lord Vishnu from inscriptions, coins and seals, but even then, epigraphical sources, historical documents and the Chinese traveller's accounts confirm the fact that during the prosperous rule of the Imperial Guptas Buddhism attained a great prominence indicating their great love and respect for other religions. That is why the age of the Gupta monarchs is highly remarkable in Indian history for religious toleration and will be remembered for ever for direct and indirect services rendered by these rulers to Buddhism. Their historical documents fairly prove that toleration of all religious sects was their guiding principle. Narasiṁha Gupta's Paramabhāga(vata) designation (i.e. his allegiance to a particular god) does not mean, however, any lack of his sympathy towards other religions. It seems quite possible that he became a Buddhist under the influence of Vasubandhu before his accession to the throne. Afterwards when he became king, he paid his homage to the family deity, Vishṇu, for which, he earned the title of Paramabhāgavata. He reigned for a very short period; it corroborates the statement of Hiuen Tsang, who states that the king after his abdication of the throne, joined the Buddhist Saṅgha as a monk. From the Chinese Traveller's account it is known that his reign witnessed vigorous Buddhist activities in his kingdom. Therefore, Paramārtha's story of Bālāditya cannot be totally rejected as suggested by N.N. Das Gupta.

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71. Ibid., p. 168; Ibid., p. 164.
72. BCLV., part I, p. 619,
73. Ibid., p. 619,

Kumāra Gupta II Kramāditya ascended the throne of the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 473 after Narasiṁha Gupta Bāḷāditya. The Sārnath Buddhist Stone Image inscription of Kumāra Gupta II of the year 154 (A.D. 473-474) proves the predominance of Buddhism in his reign. It records : "When a century of years increased by fifty-four of the Guptas had passed and on the second day of the month of Jyeshtha, when Kumāra Gupta was protecting the earth, this image of the Teacher (Buddha), which is unparalleled for its merits, was caused to be made for worship by Abhayamitra, a monk with mind subdued through devotion. By this religious merit (acquired) let (all) parents and preceptors and multitude of sentient beings obtain the desired extinction (from worldly existence) . . . ."[74]

Another inscription "Deya-dharmo-yaṁ-kumāragup-tasya" on the Buddha image may indicate the erection of this image by king Kumāra Gupta himself.[75]

Another inscription found at Sārnath may be ascribed to the reign of Kumāra Gupta II. It describes : "Having placed first (in the order of those who are to acquire religious merit from this act) (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) mother (and) father, this image of the Teacher[76] has been caused to be made by the Bhikshu Hari Gupta." This inscription does not mention the name of the reigning king. There is no reference to its date in it. But it may be placed in the fifth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Because of the great similarity of his name with the members of the Gupta family, this Hari Gupta of the inscription, who probably belonged to the Gupta family, spent a greater part of life as a Buddhist monk to the services of Buddhism.

BUDHA GUPTA

The next ruler was Budha Gupta (A.D. 477-495), who was a son of Puru Gupta.[77] From his name we can easily understand that this Gupta ruler was a devout follower of the religion of the Buddha. The Sārnath Buddhist Image inscription of Budha Gupta of the year 157 (A.D. 476-477) records : "When a century of years increased by fifty-seven of the Guptas had passed and on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of Vaiśakha, when the lunar mansion was Mūla,

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74. ARASI., 1914-15, p. 124 :
    1. Vaṛshaśate Guptānāṃ sachatuḥpañchā-śad-uttare-bhūmiṁ rakshati Kumāra-gupta māse Jyeshṭha dvītīyāyām I
    2. bhakty-āvarjjita-manasā yatinā pūjārttham Abhayamitreṇa pratim-apratimasya guṇaī (r-a)pa (re)yaṃ (kā)ritā śāstūḥ II
    3. māṭā-pitṛi-guru-pūrttih puṇyān-anena satvakāyō yaṁ labhatām-abhimatam-upaśamam-a h . . . yam
75. IHQ., XXXII, No. I, 1956, pp. 188-189.
76. CII., III, p. 281 :
    1. Guruṁ pūrvvaṁgamaṁ kṛitvā mātaram pitaram tathā kāritā
    2. pratima śāstuḥ Hariguptena bhikshuṇā II
77. PHAI., p. 593; BCLV, part I, p. 619.

when Budha Gupta was ruling (the earth), this charming image of an having divine sons (disciples) (Buddha), that is adorned with wonderful art was caused to be made by me Abhayamitra, a Buddhist monk. Whatever religious merit I have acquired in causing this image to be made, let it be for the attainment of final beatitude of my parents, preceptors and mankind."[78] Another inscription[79] with the same text and the same date on one stone image of the Buddha was found at Sārnath. The only difference between them we find is that the first inscription was discovered on the standing Buddha image whereas the second one was found on the image of the Buddha seated in an abhayamudrā pose. Abhayamitra's name was found in the inscriptions mentioned above. These inscriptions refer to the erection of the Buddha image by Abhayamitra during the rule of Kumāra Gupta II and Budha Gupta. It indicates that this ascetic, who was no doubt a prominent figure in the Buddhist world helped to popularise Buddhism in the kingdom of the Gupta rulers in the last quarter of the fifth centuries A.D.

Another inscription on a detached pedestal of an image of the Budha was discovered at Śārnath. It has no date and it does not mention the name of any king. But on palaeographical ground it may be assigned to the end of the fifth century A.D. and probably in the reign of Budha Gupta. It states : "Having honoured (his) preceptor and parents, (this) image of the teacher (Buddha) was caused to be made by the monk Śīlasena. Whatever supreme merit or attainment of extinction from worldly existence or final beatitude there be, by it let all the sentient beings that have acquired knowledge and happiness become sinless.[80]

All these inscriptions described above give vivid picture of Buddhist activities during the rule of Budha Gupta. His reign also saw the prevalence of Brāhmanism. The Dāmodarpur number 3 copper-plate inscription of the year 163 (A.D. 482)[81] states the sale of land to settle some good Brāhmins in the village. The Eraṇ inscription[82] on a stone pillar of the year 165 (A.D. 484-485) refers to the erection of a flag-staff of Vishṇu under the name of Janārdana by a Mahārāja named Mātṛivishṇu and his brother Dhanyavishṇu. The Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription of the year 159 (A.D. 478-479)[83] found in the Rājshāhi district in Bangladesh proves the prevalence of Jainism in the reign of Budha Gupta. It does not refer to the name of the reigning king. But from the year mentioned in it we think that it belongs to Budha Gupta's period. It records that a Brāhmaṇa couple donated some land for the daily worship in a vihāra of Nirgrantha (Jaina) ascetics. It is an important evidence of the patronage of Jainism by the Brāhmaṇa people. These epigraphic records fairly indicate that various religions flourished side by side amicably and peacefully in the Gupta period. But there was no report of any clash among themselves. On the contrary, each one played its own prominent role peacefully without doing any damage to the progress of the other. Thus "the Gupta age was essentially one of religious harmony and toleration."

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[78] ARASI., 1914-15, pp. 124-125 :
  1, Guptānāṁ samatikkrānte sapta-paṁchāśad-uttare śate samānāṁ pṛithivīṁ Budhagupte praśāsti (vaiśākhamāsa saptamyāṁ mūle śyā (ma-gate) mayā) II
  2. Mayā kārit-Ābhayamitreṇa pratimā Sakyabhikshuna II imam-4 (ddhasta-sachchha) tra-padmāsa(na) (vibhūshitaṁ) (De(va)putra . . . vato di(vyāṁ))
  3. Chitravi (dyā)-sachitrītāṁ yad-attra puṇyaṁ pratimāṁ kārayitvā mayā bhṛitaṁ mātā (pittror) (gurūnāṁ cha lokasya cha sāmāptaye).

[79] ARASI., 1914-1915, pp. 99 ff.

[80] Ibid., 1914-1915, pp. 126-127 :
  1. Guruṁ pūrvvaṅgamaṁ kritvā mātaraṁ pitaraṁ tathā kāritā pratimā śāstu(ḥ) śilas (e)n(e)na bhikshuṇā
  2. Yad-attr-ānuttaraṁ puṇyaṁ nirvvāṇa-śreya-labdhi vā tena jñāna-Sukha-prāpta(ā)ḥ satvā bhavantu nirmmatā (ḥ)

[81] EI., XV, 1919-1920, pp. 113 ff.

[82] CII., III, part II, pp. 88-90.

We may next refer to Vainya Gupta, of whom a single record has been discovered at Gunaighara near Comilla. This inscription and certain seals found at Nālandā disclose the existence of a king named (Vai)nya Gu(pta) who ruled in or about A.D. 507.[84] Some scholars suggest that he may have been the son of Puru Gupta.[85]

An inscription of the year 188 (A.D. 507)[86] found at a village called Gunaigarh near Comilla in Bangladesh records a gift of land from the camp of victory at Krīpura by Mahārāja Vainya Gupta made at the request of his vassal Mahārāja Rudradatta in favour of Buddhist Avaivarttika Saṁgha of the Mahāyāna sect. This inscription indicates the prosperous condition of Buddhism in Bengal during the rule of the Gupta dynasty. It has its importance in the political history of ancient India. It informs us that the part of Bengal was under the rule of Vainya Gupta and he ruled from his headquarters which were situated in South Tippera. It states : "Hail ! From the various camp full of ships and elephants and horses (situated) at Kripura, the glorious Mahārāja Vainya Gupta, who meditates on the feet of God Mahādeva, being in good health, issues a command after wishing health to and his own dependents : Be it known to you that . . . . For enhancing the religious merits of myself and my parents, on the request of Mahārāja Rudradatta, a slave to our feet, in the village Kantedadaka situated in the Northern Maṇḍala, 11 Pāṭakas of uncultivated lands in 5 plots are granted by me, by means of a copper-plate as an Agrahāra in absolute possession; for providing perpetually for perfumes, flowers, lights, incense, etc. thrice a day unto the Lord Buddha in the abode of the Vaivarttika congregation of monks (belonging) to the Mahāyāna, established by the Buddhist monk of the Mahāyāna, Ācāryya Sāntideva, in the Āsrama-vihāra (dedicated) to Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, which (vihāra) was being constructed in the . . . part of . . . by that (king) for the sake of that Ācārya; and for the enjoyment of garments, foods,

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83. EI., XX, 1929-1930, pp. 59 ff.
84. PHAI; p. 596; CLA, p. 33.
85. IHQ, XXIV, p. 67.
86. Ibid., VI, 1930, pp. 45-60.

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beds, seats, medicines for the sick, etc. by that congregation; and also for repairing breaks and cracks in the vihāra.

Here, again, both Veda and Smṛiti (texts) are indeed prescribed. By reading in the legal text, enjoining special merits both here and hereafter, the sense of a (now lost) Vedic text regarding holy gift of lands and themselves courting even hardships, enemy, kings, (who are agreeable to giving) lands to proper persons, should, upon our honour in words and also for themselves acquiring fame and merits, approve (the grant of) these Pāṭakas unto the Vihāra.

Regarding keeping up (in future), there are again verses sung by the revered vyāsa, the compiler of the Vedas and the son of Parāśara . . . . The giver of land rejoices in Heaven for 60,000 years and he who confiscates and he who assents live in Hell for that period. He who takes away land given by himself or by other rots along with his forefathers becoming a worm in soil. Of Yudhisthira, the best of kings, protect carefully the land granted by former (kings) to Brahmana, for protection is better than the gift itself.

In the current year of one hundred and eighty-eight on the 24th day of the month of Pausa by the Royal ambassador, the great Frontier king Mahārāja Vijayasena, who is the high Chamberlain, the officer-in-charge of elephants, the President of the Board of Five Law Court officers and President of City Governors, the (royal) command for the gift of these eleven Pāṭakas is made known unto Kumārāmātyas Revajjasvāmi, Bhāmaha and Vatasabhojaka. (This is) written by Karaṇa-Kāyastha Naradatta, who is the minister-in-charge of peace and war. Wherein the first plot of land measuring seven Pāṭakas and nine Droṇavāpas, the boundary marks are, to the East, the border of the Guṇikāgrahāra village and the field of Engineer Visṇu; to the south, the field of Miduvilale and the field belonging to the Royal Vihāra; to the west, the Surinasirampurnneka field; to the north, the tank of Dosibhoga, and the boundaries of the fields of Vampiyaka and Ādityabandhu. Of the second plot measuring twenty-eight Droṇavāpas, the boundaries are to the East, border of Guṇikāgrahāra village, to the south, the field of Pakkavilala; to the west, the field of the Royal Vihāra. To the North, the field of Vaidya . . . of the third plot measuring twenty-three Droṇavāpas the boundaries are, to the east, the field of . . . ; to the south, the boundary limit of the field of . . . ; to the west, the field of Jolori; to the north, the field of Ṅagijodaka. Of the fourth plot of land measuring thirty Droṇavāpas, the boundaries are, to the east, the boundary limit of the field of Buddhaka; to the south, the field of Kalaka; to the west, the boundary limit of the field of Suryya; to the north, the field of Mahipāla. Of the fifth plot of land measuring a couple of Pāṭakas less a quarter, the boundaries are, to the east, the field of Khandaviduggurika; to the south, the field of Manibhadra to the west, the boundary limit of the field of Yajñarāṭa to the north; the boundary limit of the village Nādaḍadaka.

The boundary marks of the low land belonging to the vihāra are, to the east, the channel between the (two) ports of ships at Cūḍāmaṇī and Nagaraśrī; to the south, the channel open to ships connected to the large marshy pond of Ganeśvara; to the west, and of the field belonging to the temple of Pradyumneśvara; to the north, the channel (leading) to the port of Praḍāmara. The boundary marks also of water-logged waste lands pertaining to the right of entrance of this vihāra and paying no requital (tax) are to the east, the boundary limit of the field belonging to the temple of Pradyumneśvara; to the south, the limit of the field belonging to the vihāra of the Buddhist monk, Ācāryya Jitasena; to the west, the stream Hacāta to the north, the tank of Daṇḍa.

"The year 188, the 24th day of Pauṣa."[87]

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[87] IHQ., II, 1930, pp. 53-60 :

Obverse

1. Svasti Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandhāvārāt-krīpurād-bhagavan-Mahādeva- pādānuddhyāto mahārāja-Śrī-Vainyaguptaḥ
2. Kuśali . . . svapādopajīvinaś-ca Kuśalaṁ-aśamṣya samājñā-payati viditam bhavatām-astu yathā
3. mayā mātāpittor-ātmanaś-ca pu(ṇyā)bhivṛ (ddha)ye smat-pādadāsa-Mahārāja-Rudradatta-Vijñāpyād-anenaiva Māhā-yānika-Sākyabhikṣv-ā
4. cāryya-Śāntidevam-uddiśva, gopa . . . gbhāge (?) kāryyamāṇakāryyā-valokiteśvarā-śrama-vihāre anenai
5. vācāryyena pratipādita (kā ?) Mahāyānika (?) Vaivarttika-bhikṣusanghanām-parigrahe Bhagavato Buddhasya satataṃ triṣkālaṁ
6. gandha-puṣpa-dīpa-dhūpādi-prasya bhikṣu-saṃghasya cacīvara piṇḍipātaśayanāsana-glāna-pratyaya-bhaisajyādī
7. paribhogāya vihāre (ca) khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa-pratisaṁskāra-karaṇāya Uttara-māṇḍalika-kānteḍaḍaka-grāme sarvato bho
8. genāgrahā-atvenaikādaśa-khila-pātakāḥ pañcabhiḥ khaṇḍ is-tāmra-paṭṭenātisṛṣṭāḥ (II) Api ca khalu śruti-smṛtī-
9. hāpavihitā (II) Puṇya-bhūmidāna-śṛutim-aihik-ānuttrika-phalaviśeṣe smṛto (?) bhāvatah samupagamya svatastu pi
10. dām-apy-ūrīkṛtya pāttrebhyo bhūmiṃ . . . dviṣa (?) dbhir asmad-vacana-gauravāt-sva-yaso-dharmmāvāptaye c-aita
11. pāṭakā asmin-vihāre śaśyat-kālam-abhy . . . (II) Anupālanamprati ca Bhagavatā Parāśarātma jena vedavyā
12. sena vyāsena gītāḥ ślokā bhavati (II) Ṣaṣtiṃ varṣa sa(hasrā)ṇi svargge modati bhūmidaḥ (I) Akṣepta c-anumantā ca ta
13. nyeva nake vaset (II) Svadattāṃ paradttāṃ-vā ye hareta (vasu)n-dharāṃ (I) (sa)viṣthāyāṃ kṛmir-bhūtvā pitṛbhiḥ saha pacyate
14. Purvadattāṁ dvijātibhayo yatnād-rakṣa yudhiṣṭhira (I) Mahim mahimatāṁ śreṣṭha dānāt-śreyo-nupālanaṁ (II) varttamān-āṣṭāśity -u-
15. ttra-śata-sāṁvatsare pauṣa-māsasya caturvvinśatitama-divase Dūtakena Mahāpratiharā-Mahāpīlupati pañcādhi
16. Karaṇoparika-pātyuparika-pura-pāloparika-Mahārāja-śrīmahā sāmanta -vijayasenen-aitad ekādaśıpātaka-di
17. nāyājñām- anubhāvitaḥ kumārā-mātya-Revajjasvāmi Bhāmaha-Vatasbhogikāḥ (II) Likhitaṃ Sandhi-vigrahāri karaṇa-kāya-
18. stha-Naradattena (II) yattr-aika-kṣettra-khaṇḍa nava-droṇavāpādhika-sapta-pātaka-parimāṇe -sīmā lingāni pūrvveṇa Guṇekā

(*contd. on next page*)

The inscription refers to the Buddhist Avaivarttika Saṅgha of the Mahāyāna sect which was probably one of the important Buddhist Orders in Eastern Bengal during the reign of the Gupta rulers and it points to the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism at that time. This saṅgha was not mentioned before in any record. It is difficult to say when it originated and how it had received its name. It is known that the Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra and several other Mahāyāna works refer to a spiritual stage, viz., "Avaivartika Bodhisattvasthānam". "Avaivartika teja", and "Avaivartika".[88] A sect which probably grew up with its doctrine Avaivartika or "incapable of sliding back" took its name from it and established itself in this part of Bengal. But nothing is known in detail about it from the epigraphical source. It is quite certain that Ācārya Śāntideva of this inscription was not the famous Mahāyāna teacher of the same name who wrote the Śikṣāsamuccaya and the Bodhicaryāvatāra. The latter, according to Tāranātha and Bendall, flourished in the middle of the seventh century A.D.[89] Apart from the Āśrama Vihāra, there were to other vihāras which were known as the Royal vihāra or the Rāja vihāra of the Buddhist monk, Ācārya Jitasena. Probably, the Royal vihāra received its name from its establishment by the royal people for the use of the members of the royal family.

(*contd. from previous page*)

19. grahāra-grāma-sīmā Viṣṇu-vardhaki-kṣettraś-ca Dakṣinena Miḍuvilala (?) ksettram Rājavihāra kṣettrañca Paṣcimena Sūrīnā-sīram -pūrneka-
20. ksettraṃ uttareṇa Dosibhoga-puṣkarini . . . vam- piyāk-Ādiṭya-vandhu kṣettrānāñca sīmā (II)
21. Dvitīya-khaṇḍasya-āṣta-vinśati-droṇavāpa-parimānasya sīmā pūrvvena Guṇikagrahāra -grāma-sīma-Dakṣinena Pakka -
22. Vilāla -kṣettraṁ Paścimena Rājavihāra-kṣettraṃ uttarena vaidya-kṣettraṃ (II) Trtīya-khaṇḍasya trayo-vinśati droṇavāpa . . . .
23. parimānasya sīmā Pūrvveṇa . . . kṣettraṁ Dakṣiṇena-nakhaddā-recarika -kṣettrasīmā paścimena.

Reverse

24. J(o ?) tāri-kṣettram uttarena Nāgijodāka-kṣettraṁ (II) caturthasya triṃśaddroṇavāpa-parimāna kṣettra-khaṇḍasya sīmā pūrvveṇa
25. Buddhāka -kṣettra-sīmā Dakshiṇena kālāka-kṣettraṃ Paścimena (S)ūryya-kṣettra -sīmā uttarena Mahīpālā kśettram (II) (PA)ñcamasya
26. pādona-pātaka-dvaya-parimāna kṣettra-khandasya sīmā pūrvvena khaṇḍa-vid (u)ggūrika-kṣettraṃ Dakṣiṇena Manibhadra
27. kṣettraṁ paścimena yajñarāta-kṣettra-sīnā uttarena Nādaḍadaka-grāma-sīmeti (II) vihāra-talabhumer-api sīmā lingāni
28. Pūrvveṇa cūḍāmaṇi -Nāgaraśrī-Nanyogayor -mmaddhye jolā Dakṣiṇena Gaṇeśvara-vilāla-puṣkarinyā nau-khātaḥ
29. Paścimena pradyumneśvara devakula-kṣetra-prānyaḥ uttarena Praḍāmārā-Nanyoga-khaṭah (II) Etad-vihāra-prāveśva-śūnyapratikara-
30. Hajjika-khila-bhumer-api sīmā-lingāni Pūrvvena Pradyumneśvara-devakula-kṣettra-sīmā Dakṣinena Sākya-bhik ṛ -ācāryyajita . . .
31. Sena-vaihārika-kṣetrāvasā naḥ paścimena (II) a cāta-gaṃga Uttarena Danda puṣkiṇi c -eti II Saṁ 100 80 8 poṣsyadi 20 4.

[88] GM., I, p. 70, v. 5; II, p. 253, v. 130; III, p. 465, v. 1126; IHQ., XXXII, No. I, 1956, p. 194.

[89] IHQ., XXXII, No. I, 1956, p. 194; AHIL., II, p. 365; IHQ , VI, p. 51.

An inscription on the pedestal of a Buddhist stone statue was found at Bodh-Gayā in the Gayā district. It has no date and there is no reference to the name of any king in it. But it may be ascribed to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Probably, it belongs Vainya Gupta's period or to the reign of some other king who belonged to the imperial family. It records : "Om ! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the two Śākya Bhikshus, Dharma Gupta and Daṁshṭrasena, residents of Tishyāmratīrtha. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, after (their) parents and (their) Ācāryya and Upādhyāya."[90] Another inscription discovered on the pedestal of a large Buddha image of Sārnath states : "This is a pious gift. (This image) was caused to be made with reference to the parents of the great lay disciple Narṇṇaṇa. Whatever merit there be, let it be for the attachment of supreme knowledge of all sentient beings.[91] From the characters of the inscription it may be placed in the sixth century A.D. and probably it belongs to the reign of some Gupta ruler of the imperial family. We also know from the Mathura stone image inscription, dated A.D. 548-50, that a Śākya female mendicant named Jayabhaṭṭā made the gift of a standing statue of the Buddha, crowned with a nimbus behind his head and shoulders, to a monastery called the Yaśovihāra.[92]

Vajra, the son of Bālāditya, was another ruler, who occupied a place in Buddhist history for his services to Buddhism. He, according to Hiuen Tsang,[93] had implicit faith in Buddhism and showed his patronage to it by constructing a monastery at Nālandā. But no inscription ascribed to his reign is in our possession to confirm Hiuen Tsang's account. This king ruled for a very short period.

It should be mentioned here that owing to the great patronage of the Gupta emperors monasteries like Nālandā, Taxila or Duḍḍā served as important centres of Buddhist studies and the Buddhist monks in their monasteries not only led a peaceful life but maintained a very high standard of scholarly activities.[94] These rulers offered large plots of land to the vihāras with an idea to utilise the revenues collected from them for the upkeep of these vihāras and the advancement of knowledge and religion. Fa-hien describes that "the kings of the various countries and the heads of the Vaiśyas built vihāras for the priests and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal."[95] Even Hiuen Tsang refers to such grants of the Gupta emperors to the Nālandā monastery. He states that "soon after the decease of the Buddha, Śakrāditya, a former king of this country, esteeming the one vehicle, and reverencing the Three Precious Ones, built a monastery. This king's son and successor Buddhagupta continuing his father's good work, to the south of this monastery built another one; to the east of this king Tathāgatagupta built a third monastery; and to the north east of this king Bālāditya added fourth."[96] He also adds further that "Vajra, his son and successor built another and a ruler of mid-India afterwards erected a large monastery to the north of this."[97] This shows that the Gupta rulers patronised the Nālandā monastery. From a passage of Fa-hien we know that how they behaved with the Buddhist monks. The Chinese traveller describes that "when they (the kings) make their offerings to a community of monks, they take off their royal caps, and along with their relatives and ministers, supply them with food with their own hands. That done, (the king) has a carpet spread for himself on the ground, and sits down on it in front of the chairman . . . they dare not presume to sit on couches in front of the community."[98]

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[90] CII., III, p. 282 :
1. Om Deya-dharmo-yaṁ Śākya bhikshvos-Tishyāmratīrthavāsika-Dharmagupta-Daṁshtra- senayor-Yayad-attra punya (ṁ)tad-bhavatu mātāpi(ta)rav-ācharyy-opādhyāyan pūrvvaṅgama(m)kṛitvā
2. Sarvva-satvanām-anuttara-jñān-āvāptaye-stu II

[91] ARASI., 1914-1915, p. 127 :
1. (De)yadharmmo-yaṁ paramopāsaka- Ṇaroṇṇaṇa-mātāpitaraṁyuddiśya Kāritā yad-atra puṇyam
2. tad -bhavatu sarvvasat -vānām -anuttarajñānāvāptaye

[92] CII., III, p. 274.

[93] OYC., II, p. 164; BRWW., II, p, 170.

[94] LGA., p. 568.

The Gupta period is an important epoch in Indian history. It can be mentioned "as the golden age of Indian civilization." The Gupta rulers will have a permanent place in Indian history for the vigorous role played by them for the political unification of Northern India as well as for the expansion of trade and commerce. They also contributed substantially to the promotion of religion, literature, art and science. It was due to their good administration, an all-round progress in the fields of political, social and religion became possible. Inscriptions, coins, seals and historical records of the Gupta dynasty point out that most of the Gupta rulers were known as the Parama-Bhāgavatas which mean that they showed their allegiance to the Vaiṣṇava religion. But at the same time, they became famous for their religious toleration. Their attitude towards the Buddhists and Jainas was equally liberal. Their great respect for other religions had helped to develop various religious sects in their kingdom. It is quite true that Hinduism (or Brāhmanism) became predominant during their rule, but several Buddhist inscriptions, coins, Buddhist images and sculptures found at different places demonstrate that Buddhism, without suffering from any hindrance in its religious activities, maintained its firm existence in the religious world. It continued to be popular with the masses. The exploration and the discovery of antiquities confirm this belief that the Buddhist community attained its highest prosperity in the Gupta period. Although some of the old Buddhist centres like Kapilāvastu and Śrāvasti were in a neglected condition, but Mathurā, Sārnath, Pāṭaliputra, Bodh-Gayā and

95. LGA., p. 568; ARBK., p. 44.
96. BRWW., II, p. 170; OYC., II, pp. 164-165; LGA., pp. 568-569.
97. Ibid., p. 170; Ibid., pp. 164-165; Ibid., p. 569.
98. LGA., pp. 569-570; ARBK., p. 42.

Nālandā were flourishing centres of Buddhism as is evident from the account of Fa-hien. A large number of Buddhist shrines with several thousand monks belonging to Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sects existed in these places. Several stone figures of the Buddha in the Abhayamudrā, the Bhūmisparśamudrā and the Varadamudrā postures and in the Bhadrāsana and also in Meditation i.e. Dhyānamudrā of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. found at Bodh-Gayā, Mathurā; Mankuwār in U.P. and Sārnath[99] signify their importance as great centres of Buddhism. Also at Sārnath and other places were found images of the Bodhisattvas, Lokanātha, a form of Avalokiteśvara and the goddess Tārā.[100] The abundance of caityas, stūpas, monasteries, pillars and the images of the Buddhist gods and goddess in the Gupta kingdom testify to the fact that Buddhism flourished and had retained a large share of both popular and royal favour. Thus the archaeological sources bear testimony to its importance and the contribution of the ruling class to it during the Gupta rule.

Patronage to Buddhism made by the Gupta rulers led to a great intellectual reawakening and a large number of religious literary works in Pāli and Sanskrit were produced by scholars of high repute during the Gupta age. Among the Buddhist scholars of this period may be mentioned the names of Assaṅga, Vasubandhu, Buddhaghosha, Dharmapāla, Aryaśūra, Dignāga and Bhavaviveka, who wrote on commentarial and philosophical subjects.[101] Asaṅga, who was the pupil of Maitreyanātha of the Yogācāra-vijñānavāda school of Mahāyāna philosophy, wrote the Mahāyāna-Saṁparigraha, the Prakaraṇa-Āryavācā, the Mahāyāna-Abhidharma-Saṁgīti-śāstra and a commentary on the Vajracchedikā.[102] Vasubandhu[103] was the author of the Viṃśatikā and Triṃśikā on the Vijñāptimātratā, the Vādavidhi, the Vādavidhāna and the Vādahṛdaya on logical matters, the Aparimitāyus-Sūtropadeśa and several commentaries on the Mahāyāna sūtras.[104] Buddhaghosha, the renowned Pali scholar and great commentator, who though flourished during the Gupta period, wrote most of his valuable works in Ceylon. His activities not only gave an impetus to the learning of Pali in Ceylon but also inspired the whole Buddhist world in India and abroad which resulted in the production of many other Pali commentaries and other literary works. He is credited to have been the author of the *Ñāṇodaya*, the Visuddhimagga, the Samantapāsādikā, the Kankhāvitaraṇī, the Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, the Papañcasūdanī, the Sāratthappakāsinī, the Manorathapūranī, the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, the Jātakaṭṭhakathā, the Paramaṭṭhajotikā, the Aṭṭhasālinī, the Sammohavinodanī and the Pāñcappakaraṇatthakathā.[105] Dharmapāla lived in the monastery of Nālandā and was the teacher of Hiuen Tsang.[106] He wrote a commentary on the

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99. WB., pp. 310-316.
100. ARASI., 1914-1915, pp. 99-102.
101. AHIL., II. pp. 354-358; SBCI., pp. 8.9.
102. Ibid., pp. 359-360; Ibid , pp. 8-9.
103. Ibid., pp. 359-360; SOR., III.
104. SBCI., pp. 8-9.
105. ERE , II, pp. 885 ff.
106. AHIL., II, p. 206, f.n. 1.

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Vijñāptimātratāsiddhi. Āryaśūra is reputed to have written Jātakamālā or Garland of the Jātakas[107]. Dignāga, who is regarded as the father of Indian logic and is credited with the authorship of the Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, the Ālambanaparikṣā, the Trikālaparikṣā and the Nyāyamukha.[108] Bhāvaviveka, the founder of the Svāntantrika branch of the Mādhyamika school, was the author of the Parajñāpradipa on the Mādhyamikaśāstra, the Mādhyamikahṛdayakārikā with the Tarkajvālā, the Mahāyāna-Karatalaratna and the Madhyamārtha Saṁgraha.[109] It should be mentioned here that this period witnessed also the rise of Tantric Buddhism in which the ideas of the Mantrayāna, the Tantrayāna and Vajrayāna were developed. Also this period saw the growth of the Buddhist logic which was brought into the forefront by Dignāga, who was not only 'the Father of Buddhist Logic', but also the founder of a 'critical school of philosophy' in Buddhism.[110] The presence of a number of learned Buddhist scholars with their works in the Gupta period may indicate that the Buddhist literary world was highly developed and it may be also pointed out that the ruling families, the nobility and the rich people continued to patronise Buddhism, its Saṅgha and its literature and gave them whatever help they could in the shape of land, money and kind assistance to run their literary activities.

The Gupta rule also witnessed the development of Buddhist art which "reached its classic perfection" during this period. The beautiful images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva at Sārnath and Mathurā created by the artists during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. are regarded as best specimens of Indian art. The Buddha image of this period were generally found with an ornamented halo and transparent drapery which had some folds. J. Ph Vogel remarks : "the Buddha image of the period exhibits a new and purely national development, and, indeed, represents a new type which in artistic merit is infinitely superior to its predecessor (the Kushān image). Some of the Buddha statues of this period, by their wonderful expression of calm repose and mild serenity, give a beautiful rendering of the Buddhist ideal. The indications of the drapery having almost been wholly discarded, the monastic robes are merely marked in outlines. On the contrary, the halo encircling the head of the Master becomes lavishly decorated with floral and foliated ornament. Evidently the real significance of this 'Circle of Light' (prabhāmaṇḍala) was completely forgotten. The Gupta sculptors thus succeeded in their effort to eliminate or modify those features which in the Kushān period still indicated the foreign origin of the Buddha image."[111] The discovery of rock-cut caitya-halls (vihāras) at Ajantā with wonderful wall-paintings depicting the figures of the Seated Buddhas in cave number II, a Bhikshu in cave number VI, the Apsaras in cave number XVII and Jūjaka of the Vessantara Jātaka in cave number XVII of the fifth century A.D.[112] give us an impression that "The artist's genius in India reached its highwater mark during the Gupta period." Also at Ajantā the image of the Buddha in the act of preaching the First Sermon of the sixth century A.D. has been found in cave number 8. That Buddhism, as a living force, maintained its steady progress is proved beyond doubt by the prevalence of the high standard of the Buddhist art during the Gupta period.

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[107] SBCI., p. 9; AHIL., II, pp. 273-276.

[108] HIL., pp. 272 ff.

[109] SBCI., pp. 7-8.

[110] Ibid., pp. 10-11; AHIL., II, p. 363; BTI., I, pp. 31 ff.

[111] GE., p. 147.

THE LATER GUATAS

The first quarter of the sixth century A.D. witnessed the rise of a new dynasty which seems to have ruled for a period of about two hundred and fifty years. The rulers of this dynasty were known as the Later Guptas, who ruled in Magadha.[113] The Aphead (near Gayā) Stone inscription of Ādityasena and Deo-Baranark inscription of Jīvita Gupta II refers to a number of rulers with name ending in "Gupta", viz., Krishna Gupta, Harsha Gupta, Jīvita Gupta I, Kumāra Gupta III, Dāmodara Gupta, Mahāsena Gupta, Mādhava Gupta, Ādityasena, Deva Gupta III, Vishnu Gupta II and Jīvita Gupta II.[114] But their genealogies give no clear evidence of their relationship with the early Imperial Guptas. They were probably at first feudatories to the earlier Gupta kings and gradually asserted their independence simultaneously with a line of Maukhari kings who came into prominence to the north of the Ganges.[115] The Gupta king Kumāra Gupta III was a contemporary of the Maukhari king Iśāna-varman who is known from the Harāhā inscription as ruling in A.D. 554.[116]

Harsha Gupta's son Jīvita Gupta I, the third ruler of the dynasty has been described as the crest-jewel āmongst kings. He was a terror to his enemies and caused "terrible scorching fever (of fear)" to them even though they lived in countries which were situated on the cool sea-shores or in the Himālayās region.[117] According to R.G. Basak, the enemies on the sea-shores were probably the Gauḍas and Vaṅgas of the period and the Himālayān enemies were the people of Nepal under one of the Lichchhavi rulers.[118] Jīvita Gupta I conjointly with the Maukhari crown prince Iśānavarman fought against the enemies on the sea-shores and the former was able to extend his political influence over a portion of Bengal.[119]

In the reign of Jīvita Gupta I Buddhism flourished in Magadha and Buddhist monks from foreign countries used to visit the eastern kingdom to study religious texts in Magadha and to take help and guidance relating to religious matters from local monks. Thus it is known that the first Liang emperor of

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[112] WB., p. 313.
[113] EHNI., p. 219; HNEI., p. 142.
[114] CII., III, pp. 202, 217.
[115] CLA., p. 72.
[116] PHAI., p. 600.
[117] PHAI., pp. 601-602; EHNI., p. 220; HNEI., p. 144.
[118] HNEI., p. 144.
[119] EHNI., pp. 209, 220.

China, Wu-ti or Hsiao Yen, who was a great devotee of Buddhism, despatched a Buddhist mission to Magadha in A.D. 539.[120] The object of this mission was to collect original Mahāyānist texts and to obtain the services of a Buddhist scholar, who would be able to translate them properly. According to V.A. Smith, this event took place either in the reign of Jīvita Gupta I or during the rule of Kumāra Gupta. He is not quite sure as to the period when the Chinese ambassador and his party came to Magadha. It seems quite possible that they visited the capital at the beginning of Jīvita Gupta's reign and remained busy for several years in Magadha and in other Buddhist centres in India to collect the Mahāyāna texts and to discuss their problems with Buddhist scholars in India. The Gupta ruler gave them a warm welcome and helped them during their stay in India. He gladly offered the services of the great scholar Paramārtha, who went with them to China in A.D. 546 and translated many works which he brought from India. He was in China for several years and he died there in A.D. 569 at the age of seventy. Thus the Chinese ambassador's visit to Magadha shows clearly the popularity of Buddhism during Jīvita Gupta I's rule and his great role for its development.

The next ruler was Kumāra Gupta III, who was well known for his military prowess and his leadership in battle. He came into conflict with the Maukhari ruler Iśāna-varman for the latter's victories over the Andhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas and for the assumption of the Imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja by the latter.[121] Nothing is known about Buddhism during the rule of Kumāra Gupta III from any record. But his predecessor, Jīvita Gupta I's reign marked its prominence and prosperity in Magadha. We may presume from it that the reputation of the kingdom as the centre of Buddhist culture continued as before under the patronage of Kumāra Gupta III.

Kumāra Gupta III's successor was Dāmodara Gupta. Like his father, his struggle with the Maukharis also continued. He was very kind to the Brāhmaṇas. He himself offered rich dowries of agrahāra grants to many virtuous Brāhmaṇas at the time of the marriage of their daughters.[122]

Dāmodara Gupta's son was Mahāsena Gupta, who ascended the throne after his father. He has been mentioned as "the foremost amongst warriors who acquired in all assemblages of heroes." Possibly for his glorious victory in war over Sushitavarman[123] of the Varman family of Kāmarūpa, he earned this good reputation. The Aphsad Stone inscription of Ādityasena describes "the mighty fame of Mahāsena Gupta marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman . . . is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya (the Brahmaputra[124]).

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[120] EHI., p. 331.
[121] PHAI., p. 604.
[122] HNEI, p. 146.
[123] HNEI., p. 146; EI., XII, 1913-14, pp. 65-70.
[124] PHAI., p. 607; CII., III, part II, pp. 200 ff.

MĀDHAVA GUPTA

The next ruler was Mādhava Gupta, a son of Mahāsena Gupta. The Aphsad Stone inscription of Ādityasena describes him that he found pleasure only in prowess and was "the leader of those who acquire renown in war, a very storehouse of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth and learning, and a firm bridge of religion."[125] H.C. Raychaudhuri thinks that he became a subordinate ally of Harsha of Thāneśwar and Kanauj, who defeated the kings of four quarters of India and took the title of king of Magadha.[126]

No source refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in the reign of Dāmodara Gupta, Mahāsena Gupta, and Mādhava Gupta. But historical records of the period make it quite clear that the internal and external affairs of the country made them so busy that they had not the opportunity to devote their time to the religious affairs of the country. In tpite of it we may infer that the political decadence of Magadha never affected the religion which continued to prosper, as we have seen earlier in the reign of Jīvita Gupta I, although records are silent on it. The Aphsad Stone inscription describes Mādhava Gupta that he was "a firm bridge of religion" which undoubtedly signifies that he was a religious person. But no source says anything about his leanings towards any particular religion. When nothing is known about his religion and the development of religions in his kingdom, we may not be wrong to suppose that he was a true davotee of Buddhism, which attained its prominence and made its progress firmly in the reign of his great-great-grandfather, Jivita Gupta I and it was because of the flourishing condition of Buddhism that the Chinese emperor came into close contact with Jivita Gupta I. The Aphsad Stone inscription indirectly refers to Mādhava Gupta's firm faith in Buddhism.

ĀDITYASENA

Mādhava Gupta's son Ādityasena declared his independence as a paramount sovereign after the death of the emperor, Harshavardhana of Thāneśwar in U.P. in A.D. 647.[127] He was quite well known for his remarkable personality and was undoubtedly the most prominent figure of the Later Gupta dynasty. The Aphsad (in Gayā district), the Shāpur (in Patna district) and the Mandar (in Bhagalpur district) inscriptions mention that Magadha and Aṅga were included in his kingdom.[128] But a Deoghar inscription refers to him as the ruler of the whole earth up to the shores of the seas and the performer of the Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices.[129] It seems that during his rule the later Gupta dynasty extended

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125. CII., III, part II, pp. 200 ff; HNEI., p. 148.
126. PHAI., pp. 609-10.
127. EHI., p. 332.
128. CII., III, part II, pp. 200 ff; pp. 208 ff,
129, Ibid., pp. 211-212, 213, f.n,

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its influence not only over Magadha alone but also over several regions of northern India. He assumed the imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

An inscription[130] in the Vaidyanātha temple at Deoghar in Bihar refers to the establishment of the image of the god Nṛihari (Man-lion inscription of Vishṇu) in a temple erected by king Ādityasena and his wife Śri-Koṇadevī. The Aphsad Stone inscription of Ādityasena[131] records the construction of a temple of the god Vishṇu by Ādityasena and a religious college by his mother Śrīmati. These two inscriptions point out the popularity of the Vishṇu worship during the rule of Ādityasena, who had some leanings towards it. The Aphsad Stone inscription mentions that Śrīmati, mother of Ādityasena constructed a religious college. Probably, this inscription refers to a college which belonged to the famous Buddhist institution, the Nālandā University. During the reign of the Guptas it attained an important position in the Buddhist world as a great reputation for their scholastic approach. Many students, not only from other parts of India but also from foreign countries, used to come to study there.

It is known from records of a foreign travaller that Ādityasena patronised Buddhism. The Chinese traveller I-tsing refers to a traveller named Hwui Lun or Li, who was a native of Sin-ko (Korea). He was a master of the Law, i.e., he was well versed in the doctrines of Buddhism. With a desire to undertake a pilgrimage to the holy spots of his religion, he visited India during the latter half of the seventh century A.D. He writes[132]: "Recently a king called Sun-army (Ādityasena), built by the side of the old temple another which is now newly finished. Priests from the south occupy this temple." Ādityasena built this temple near the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā,

The Korean traveller also mentioned another temple which was known as 'the Tchina (China) temple. He describes: "Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śri Gupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country, who had travelled from Sz'chuen to the Mahābodhi temple to pay their worship. Seeing impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some 500 years ago. The land has now reverted to the king of eastern India, whose name is Devavarman, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple-land and the endowment in case any priest came from China."[133] According to R.C. Majumdar,[134] king Devavarman was Devakhaḍga of eastern Bengal, who was a contemporary of the Korean

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130. Ibid., p. 213, f.n.
131. Ibid., pp. 200 ff.
132. LHT., Introduction, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII; HNEI., p. 153.
133. LHT., Introduction, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII; HNEI., pp. 153-54.
134. EHB., p. 23.

traveller. R.G. Basak has identified king Devavarman with Deva Gupta III, a son of Ādityasena.[135] During Hwui Li's visit, he was ruling in eastern India and therefore, he had the right to distribute land in the Mahābodhi which was situated in his kingdom. We may agree with R.G. Basak regarding this identification.

No detailed account relating to the development of Buddhism in the reign of Ādityasena and his successors is available. But it is clear from the description of the Korean pilgrim that king Ādityasena and his son Deva Gupta III tried to popularise Buddhism hy erecting temples and other religious monuments in their kingdom. Even for the spread of Buddhist education, culture and philosophy. Srimati, mother of Ādityasena, possibly built a religious college, as we know from the inscription discussed above.

An inscription of the reign of Ādityasena has been discovered recently. It states : "... has been granted to endure for the same time with ... and the moon and the earth. Om ! The year 60 (and) 6; (the month) Mārga; the bright fortnight; the day 7 ... on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day and month and year, ... in the reign of the illustrious Ādityasenadeva, this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous Sālapaksha the Balādhikṛita, in the great agrahāra of Nālandā for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself."[136]

J.F. Fleet says that this inscription speaks of solar worship. But there is nothing in the inscription from which we definitely can state that it is associated with sun worship. On the contrary, it mentions the name of Nālandā, which was one of the important Buddhist centres in India. The last line of the inscription "for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself" reminds us of the contents of the Buddhist inscriptions as already mentioned in our previous chapters. It may not be wrong to comment from it that the inscription is a Buddhist one and the stone image which was installed by the Balddhikṛita Sālapaksha in the agrahāra of Nālandā may have some association with the religion of the Buddha. If we surmise that this is a Buddhist image, it then points out that this is another evidence of the development of Buddhism in the reign of Ādityasena.

After Ādityasena, three kings, viz , Deva Gūpta III, Vishṇu Gupta II and Jīvita Gupta II ascended the throne in succession. H.C. Raychaudhuri thinks that the Gauḍas brought the downfall of the kingdom of the later Gupta dynasty in the first half of the eighth century A.D.[137] But R.G. Basak does not agree with him.[138] He thinks that the later Gupta empire was uprooted by king Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

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[135] HNEI., p. 154.

[136] CII . III, p. 210 :

1. ... kh I . . dh ... g ... chandra kshiti-kālam yāvat -p(r)ati-pāditam (II)
2. Oṁ samvat 60 6 Marga su di 7 asyān-divasa -māsasamvatsar-ānupūrvvyāṁ śrī Ādityasena-
3. (deva)-rāj(y)e Nā—landa ... mahā—āgrahāre sādh(n)ā va(ba)lādhikṛta-Sālapaksheṇa de(ya)dharmmoyam pratishṭhitaṁ (ḥ)
4. (mātāpitror-ā) tmanai-cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhaye (II).

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[137] PHAI., p. 611.

[138] HNEI., p. 155,

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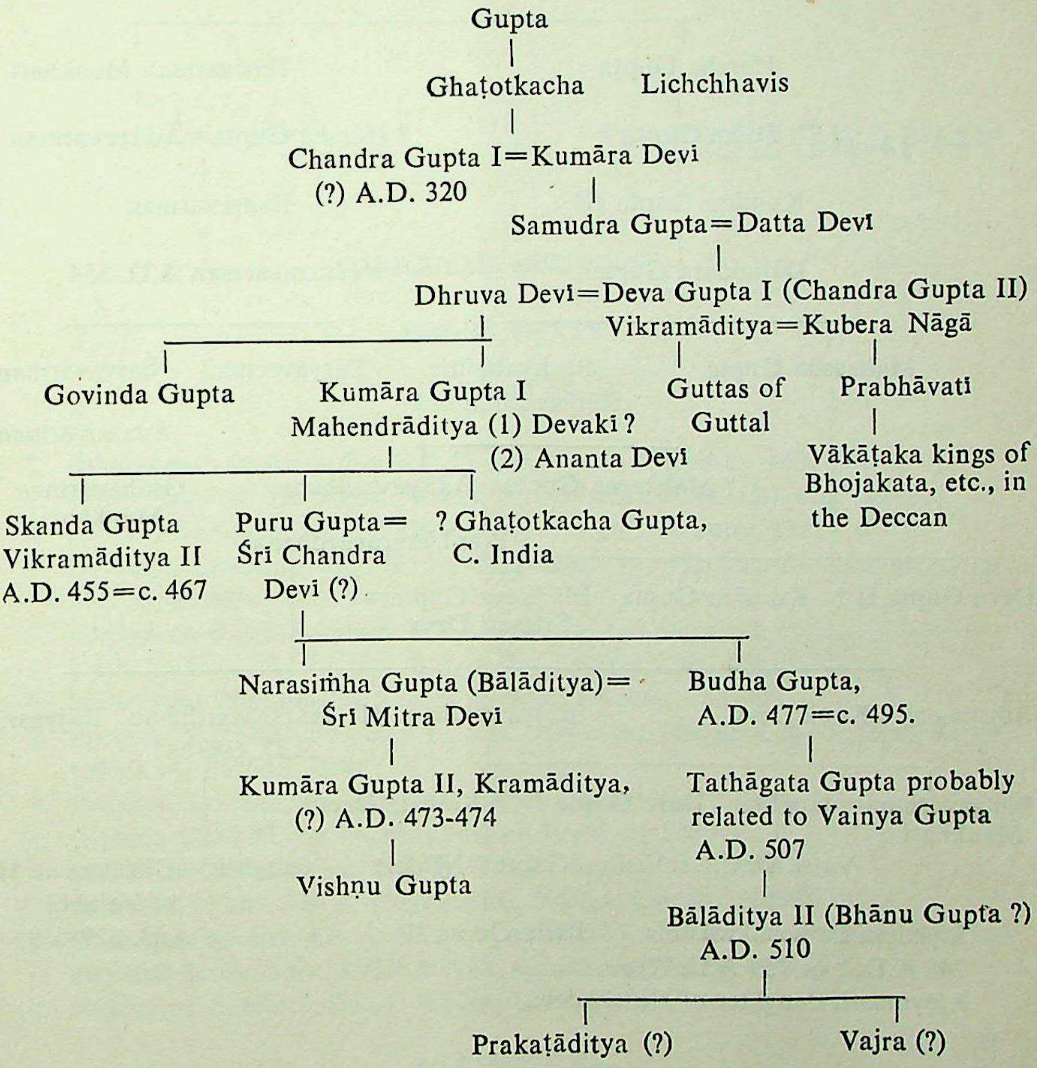
Genealogy of the Guptas

THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS*


Gupta
Ghaṭotkacha
Lichchhavis
Chandra Gupta I=Kumāra Devi
(?) A.D. 320
Samudra Gupta=Datta Devī
Dhruva Devī=Deva Gupta I (Chandra Gupta II)
Vikramāditya=Kubera Nāgā
Govinda Gupta
Kumāra Gupta I
Mahendrāditya (1) Devakī ?
(2) Ananta Devī
Guttas of Guttal
Prabhāvatī
Vākāṭaka kings of Bhojakata, etc., in the Deccan
Skanda Gupta
Vikramāditya II
A.D. 455=c. 467
Puru Gupta=
Śrī Chandra
Devī (?)
? Ghaṭotkacha Gupta,
C. India
Narasiṁha Gupta (Bālāditya)=
Śrī Mitra Devī
Budha Gupta,
A.D. 477=c. 495.
Kumāra Gupta II, Kramāditya,
(?) A.D. 473-474
Vishṇu Gupta
Tathāgata Gupta probably
related to Vainya Gupta
A.D. 507
Bālāditya II (Bhānu Gupta ?)
A.D. 510
Prakaṭāditya (?)
Vajra (?)

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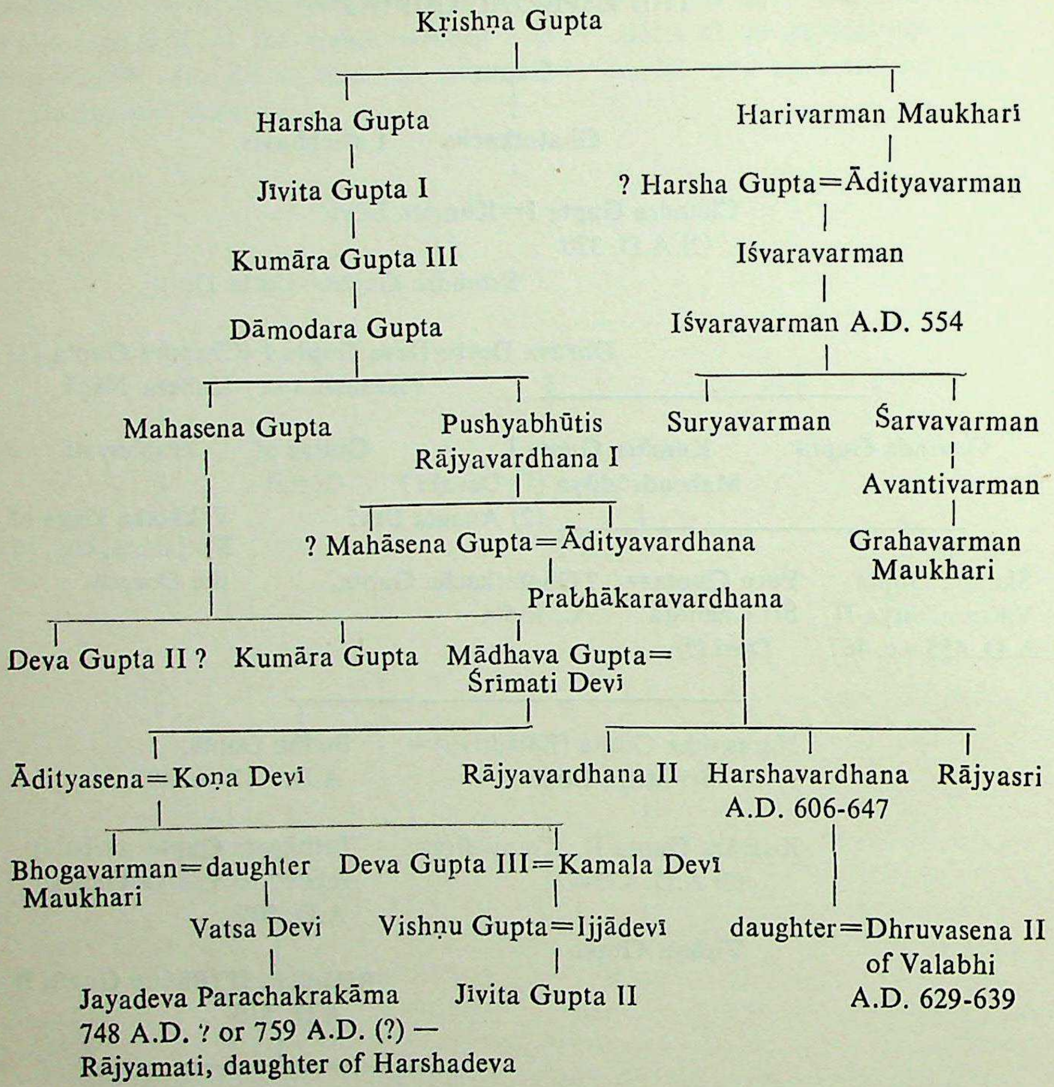
*PHAI, p. 599.

THE LATER GUPTAS*


Kṛishṇa Gupta
Harsha Gupta
Harivarman Maukharī
Jīvita Gupta I
? Harsha Gupta=Ādityavarman
Kumāra Gupta III
Iśvaravarman
Dāmodara Gupta
Iśvaravarman A.D. 554
Mahasena Gupta
Pushyabhūtis
Rājyavardhana I
Suryavarman
Śarvavarman
Avantivarman
? Mahāsena Gupta=Ādityavardhana
Grahavarman
Maukhari
Prabhākaravardhana
Deva Gupta II ?
Kumāra Gupta
Mādhava Gupta=
Śrīmati Devī
Ādityasena=Koṇa Devī
Rājyavardhana II
Harshavardhana
A.D. 606-647
Rājyasri
Bhogavarman=daughter
Maukhari
Deva Gupta III=Kamala Devī
Vatsa Devi
Vishṇu Gupta=Ijjādevī
daughter=Dhruvasena II
of Valabhi
A.D. 629-639
Jayadeva Parachakrakāma
748 A.D. ? or 759 A.D. (?) —
Rājyamati, daughter of Harshadeva
Jīvita Gupta II

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*PHAI, p. 613.

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INDEX

A

Abhidharma Kośavyākhyā, 128
Ābhiras, 199
Abul Fazl, 65
Ādityasena, 235-237
Agnimitra, 142
Agiśala, 142
Allen, J., 127, 209, 221
Alberuni, 141
Ajānta inscriptions, 23, 201-202
Amarāvati, 196
Amaravati inscriptions, 23, 181
Amyutas, 118
Ānandas, 197
Andhau inscriptions, 164
André Bareau, 146
Aṅguttara nikāya, 1, 38-39
Animal, birds slaughter, prohibition of, 81
Antiochos, 113
Apollonius, 129
Aphsad inscription, 233-234
Apsidal Temple inscription E, First, 191
Apsidal Temple inscription F, Second, 186
Ārā inscription, 119, 156, 159
Āryamañjusri-mula-kalpa, 7
Ārya Śūra, 232
Asaṅga, 231
Aśoka, 59-93
Aśokārāma, 79
Aśoka's Edicts, 58, 62, 66-69, 71, 73, 76, 81, 90, 92
Aśokāvadāna, 40, 59, 75, 82, 94
Aśvaghoṣa, 134, 138, 144-45, 151, 160
Aṭṭhakathās, 85
Attivarman, 198
Aupapātika Sūtra, 14
Avanti Dynasty,
Āyakapillar inscription, 181-82, 184-86, 193-95
Ayodhyā inscriptions, 104
Avasyakasūtra, 44
Azes, I, 123
Azes, II, 123
Azilises, 123

B

Baigrām copper-plate inscription, 217
Banerji, A, 95
Banerjee, J.N., 130
Banerjee, P.N., 122
Barangaza inscription, 117
Barua, B.M., 65, 73, 109, 190
Bashak, R.G., 233, 237-38
Basham, A.L., 115
Bāṇa, 177
Beal, S., 18
Bendall, 228
Bhabru edict, 73
Bhadrabābu, 52
Bhadrabāhu-charita, 53
Bhaggas, 33
Bhāgavata inscriptions, 108
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 107
Bhāgavate, 107
Bhagvad Gitā, 68
Bhandarkar, D.R., 40, 89, 91, 108, 164
Bharadvāja Piṇḍola, 19, 87
Bhārhut Stūpa 9, 17, 105-6, 108
Bhāvaviveka, 232
Bhitari Pillar inscription, 220
Bhūmaka, 161
Bihar Stone Pillar inscription, 220
Bilsad Stone inscription 145, 217
Bimbisāra, 2-7
Bindusāra, 57, 97
Bloch, T., 150

Bodh-Gayā, 77-211
Bodh-Gayā inscriptions, 214, 224
Bodhirājakumara, 33
Bodhis, 201
Bodhi tree, 77, 92, 177
Brāhmi Inscriptions, 148, 157
Bṛhadratha, 96
Bṛhatphalāyanas, 198
Bṛihatkathā-kośa, 53
Brown, Percy, 153
Buddhavaṁsa commentary, 4
Buddhaghosa, 72, 231
Bnddhism in Kashmir, 84
Buddhist Councils, 41, 85-86, 89, 143, 145, 147, 186
Buddhist works, composition of, 106
Buddha Gupta, 223
Buhler, 119
Bulis, 35
Burgess, 181
Burma inscriptions, 92
Buston, 46, 144

C

Caṇḍa Pajjota, 17-18
Caraka, 151
Ceylonese chronicles, 75, 61, 85-92, 147, 190
Chāṇakya, 47, 52, 54, 56-57
Chandragupta I, 48, 51, 97, 210
Chandragupta II, 213-15
Chashṭana, 164
Chattopadhyaya, S., 117, 122
Childers, 189
Chinna-Ganjum Stūpa pillar inscriptions, 177
Civara-vastu, 20
Clemens, 55
Coomaraswamy, A.K., 134, 153
Contemporary kings, 1
Cullaniddesa, 1
Cunningham, A., 33, 122

D

Dohara, Sutta, 16
Dāmodara Gupta, 234
Dāmodarpur copper plate inscription, 217, 224
Dāmodarvarman, 198
Das Gupta, N.N., 222
Daśaratha, 95
Dasapura inscription, 215
Davids, Rhys, 14, 52, 85
Deo Baranavn inscription, 233
Deoghar inscription, 235
Deopatan, 79
Devabhūti, 108
Devadaha, 33
Devānaṁpiya Tissa, 91
Devāvarmā, 210
Devavarman, 237
Dhammacetiya Sutta, 17
Dhammapada commentary, 120
Dhammayana, 120
Dhanabhuti, 108
Dhanabhuti inscription, 105
Dharmapāla, 231
Dharmarājika Stūpa, 124
Dhārmaṭhida, 134
Dhatuvibhaṅga Sutta, 20
Dignāga, 232
Dīpavaṁsa, 42, 62, 85, 88, 154
Divyāvadāna, 38, 51, 57-59, 61-62, 74-75, 93, 97, 101-02, 105-06, 146
Dobbins, Walton K. 150
Dutt, N., 2, 14, 73, 84-85, 129, 180, 183, 189-90

E

Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla, II, 193
Ellore plates, 199
Envoys, sending of, 88
Eucratidians, 118

F

Fa-hien, 138, 215-217, 229
Fan-ye, 133
Fleet, J.F., 53, 129, 209, 237
Foucher, M., 134
Fou-fa-tsang-in-iuen-tchoen, 151
Friar Bala, 143

G

Gandhāra, 19
Gārgī Saṁhitā, 96
Garampati, 87
Garuḍa pillar inscription, 108
Gautamiputra Sātkarṇi, 162, 172
Geiger, W., 48, 211
Ghosh, N.N., 105

Girnar Rock Edict, 67
Gnaighara inscription, 225
Goli, 197
Goranṭala, inscription, 197-98
Gondopharnes, 129-30
Goswami, K.G., 148
Guṇḍa inscription, 199
Gurzala inscription, 197
Gutschmid, A. Von, 115

H

Hagāmasha, 127
Hagāna, 127
Harāhā inscription, 233
Harayaṅka Dynasty, 37
Harsha carita, 43, 96, 101
Harisena, 202
Harisvāminī, 218
Haryaṅka Dynasty, 2
Hastivarman, 199
Hāthī Gumphā inscription, 44, 171
Havell, E.B., 105
Hemachandra, 13, 54, 96
Heras, 64
Hermaes, 118
Hiuen Tsang, 63, 80, 84-85, 140, 142, 145, 148, 158, 177, 209, 211, 220-222, 230-31
Hsiaoyen, 234
Hultzsch, E., 55
Huvishka, 156
Hwui Li, 209-10, 217
Hwui Lun, 236

I

Ikshvākus, 178
Indo-Greeks, 113
Indor copper plate inscriptions, 220
Isapur Yupa inscriptions, 155
I-tsing, 61, 73, 85, 152, 209, 236

J

Jacobi, H., 40
Jaggayyapeta inscription, 178, 180, 192
Jagannath, 221
Jain Pariśishṭaparvan, 44
Jaluka, 94
Jātaka, 21
Jayaswal, K.P., 45, 53, 57, 63
Jayavarman, 198
Jinakālamāli 115
Jīvaka, 3, 20
Jīvaka Komārabhacca, 5
Johnston, R.F., 147
Junāgarh inscription, 164
Junar inscription, 120
Jyestha, 107

K

Kahaun Stone pillar inscription, 226
Kājakārāma monastery, 17
Kakwan copper-plate inscription, 123
Kaldarra Nadī inscription, 119
Kālakā chāyakathānaka, 121
Kaliṅga, conquest of, 63, 69
Kālāmas, 35, 40
Kaṅiska, 135-37, 140-54
Kaṅiska II, 159
Kaṅiska Stūpa, 138-40
Kaṇḍara, 197
Kaṇha, 170
Kanhiara inscriptions, 121
Kāṇva dynasty, 109
Kapilāvatthu, 21, 25
Kārdamakas, 164
Karle Buddhist temple, 120
Karle cave inscription, 163-64, 176
Karmdāndā stone liṅga inscription, 217
Karosṭhhī inscription, 121
Kashmir chronicles, 94
Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra, 108
Kathā Sarit-Sāgara, 51
Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakatha, 41
Kaṭṭahahārika, Jātaka, 16
Kauśāmbi pillar edict, 80, 86
Kharoshṭhī inscription, 192
Khema, 6
Kern, H., 85, 92
Koliyas, 33
Kondamudi plates, 198
Konow stein, 119, 121, 142, 164
Kosalan Dynasty, 14
Kosambi, 19
Kshaharātas, 161
Kujulakadphises, I, 133, 134
Kukkutārāma, 103
Kumāra Gupta, I, 218-19
Kumāra Gupta, II, 223
Kumāra Gupta, III, 223
Kuṇāla, 82, 93-94
Kurram relic casket, 154
Kusinārā, 11, 30, 33
Kūṭāgā rasālā, 28

L

Leeuw, Von Lohuizen-de, 129
Liaka Kusulaka, 125
Levis, 154
Lewis, Rice B., 53
Levi Sylvain, 211-12
Lichhavis, 10, 25-30
Lichchhavī Women, 28
Ludres, 119, 159
Lumbini, 77-78
Lumbini Pillar edict, 73

M

Mādhava Gupta, 235
Madhyāndina, 87
Mahābhārata, 63, 70
Mahābohi monastary, 211
Mahābodhivaṁsa, 43, 44, 46, 61
Mahādānapati patika, 126
Mahādeva, 87
Mahā Govinda Suttanta, 2
Mahakaccāyana, 18
Mahākassappa, 13
Mahānāma, 22, 29, 212
Mahāpadma Ugrasena, 46
Mahāpajāpati Gotami, 25
Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, 9, 25-26, 36, 51, 117
Mahārakkhita, 87
Mahāsena Gupta, 234
Mahāthūpa, 5
Mahavaṁsa, 1, 3, 39, 41, 51, 58-59, 62, 70, 72, 81, 85, 87, 89, 190
Mahāvibhāsa Śastra, 145
Mahendra, 87, 94
Mahinda, 91-92
Majjhantika, 87
Majjhima Nikāya, 15, 17, 26, 87, 89
Majumdar, R.C., 236
Mālālaṁkāravatthu, 40
Malasekera, G.P., 67
Mālavikāgnimitra, 101
Mallas, 30-33
Manikiala inscription, 149
Mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa, 38-39, 41, 43, 45, 57
Mankuwār inscription, 218
Marshall, John, 129, 139, 153
Māthara, 151
Mathariputa Iśvarasena, 200
Māthariputravirapuriṣadata, 180
Mathura inscriptions, 109, 127-28, 152, 156-57, 159, 219, 229
Mathura school of art, 153
Matsya Purāṇa, 93, 107
Maues, 121
Maurya Dynasty, 51
McCrindle, 56
Medical treatment, 90
Megasthenes, 55
Meghavarma, 211
Menander, 113-120
Milindapañha, 114-116
Missionary activities, 87-91
Moggaliputta Tissa, 79, 86, 89
Mookerjee, Padhakumud, 55, 218, 221
Moriyas, 35
Mṛgaśikhāvana, 209-10
Mudrārākshasa, 54
Muṇḍa, 38
Munivaṃsābhyudaya, 53

N

Nāgadāsaka, 39
Nāgārjuni hill caves, 95
Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa, 196
Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa inscriptions, 23, 165-66, 178, 180, 190, 192
Nāgasena, 114, 116
Nahapāna, 161
Nālandā Monastery, 220-21
Nālandā University, 236
Nanda, 23, 47, 146
Nanda Dynasty, 44
Narain, A.K., 113, 115
Narsiṁha Gupta Baladitya, 221
Nasik inscriptions, 162-63, 170, 172-73 176-77, 200
Nigliva Pillar inscriptions, 78
Nigrodhā, 71-72
Nigrodha-Sāmaṇera, 70
Nilakantha, K. A., 58, 92

O

Oldham CEAW., 188

P

Pabbajjā Sutta, 3
Pabbosā inscription, 107
Pag-sam-jon-zang, 156

Pāhārpur inscription, 224
Palichronicles, 71
Pāṇini, 102
Papañcasūdanī, 26
Paramārtha, 145, 220-22, 234
Pariśishtaparvan, 57
Pārśva, 144-45, 151
Parthians, 129
Pasenadi, 14-17
Pāṭaliputrakalpa, 96
Pathāk, K.P., 218
Pāvā, 30
Pelliot collection, 136
Peri, N., 221
Plutarch, 114, 117
Pravira, 201
Przyluski, J., 93, 184
Ptolemy, 161
Pukkusāti, 19-20
Purging in saṅgha, 86
Pūrṇamaitrāyāniputra, 87
Puru Gupta, 220
Pushyamitra, 101

Q

Qyzyl stūpa, 11

R

Rādhā Gupta, 82-83
Rāhula, 23
Rājagaha, 6, 11-13
Rājataraṅgiṇī, 65, 84, 93-94, 155-56
Rājavalīkatha, 53, 57
Rājuvula, 127, 129
Rakkhita, 87
Rāmagrāma, 33
Rāmagrāma stūpa, 77
Rao, R., 197
Rapson, E.J., 164, 169
Ratna Sutta, 27
Raychaudhuri, H.C., 27, 35, 93, 105, 110, 160-61, 165, 212, 221, 235, 237
Rohinimitra, 122
Rowland, Benjamin, 153
Rudrādāman, 164
Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, 165-66
Rudrāyana, 20
Rummindei inscription, 77-78

S

Saccaka, 27
Sachādharmathidasa, 134
Śākala, 105
Śakas, 121
Śakasatraps, 125
Śākyas, 21
Śākya ladies, 24
Sālīśūka, 96
Śālaṅkāyānas, 199
Sāmaññaphala Sutta, 8-9
Samantapāsādika, 71-72, 87
Samprati, 83, 95
Samudra Gupta, 79, 210-11, 221
Samyutta Nikāya, 15
Sāñchī inscriptions, 22, 32, 77, 80, 86, 89-90, 105, 119, 155-56, 213, 218
Saṅghamittā, 92
Saṅgha, division in, 42, 46
Saṅgīti Sutta, 32
Śākala, 114
Saraswati, S.K., 221
Sarmnes, 55
Sārnāth inscription, 80, 86, *160*, 223-24, 229
Sarvāstivādins, 84
Sātakarṇi, I., 171
Sātavāhanas, 169
Schism, prevention of, 81
Schism in Saṅgha, 86
Senart, E., 120, 163
Set Mahat, 128
Set Mahat inscription, 150
Shah, C.J., 54, 64
Shinkot inscription, 116
Shorkot inscription, 215
Siṁha, 144
Simuka, 169
Sircar, D.C., 78, 122-23, 199, 201
Śiśunāga, 39-40
Śiśunāga dynasty, 39
Skanda Gupta, 219
Smith, V.A., 57, 61-62, 85, 92, 95, 98, 105, 115, 134, 147, 153, 169, 211, 234
Śrībodhi, 201
Śri Gupta, 209-10
Śravaṇa Beḷgola inscription, 53
Stein, O., 119-20
Strabo, 55-56, 114
Strato I Agathacles, 118
Soṇa, 87, 92
Sonari Stūpa, 89
Śoṇḍāsa, 127-28
Subhagasena, 113
Suhastin, 96
Sui Vihar inscription, 148
Sumsumāragiri, 33

Śuṅga dynasty, 101
Sungyun, 138
Suppavāsā, 34
Śūrasena, 43
Sūtralaṁkāra, 136
Sutta Nipāta, 15

T

Takakusu, J., 221
Takht-Bahi inscription, 129
Tāranātha, 43-44, 46, 57, 83-84, 93, 102, 140, 144, 147, 152, 228
Tarn, W.W., 116-118, 129, 134
Taxila inscriptions, 122-23, 125-27,
Theodorus inscription, 119
Theragāthā, 34
Theragāthā commentary, 54
Thomas, Edward 53, 58
Thomas, E.J., 85
Tissa Moggaliputta, 85
Tivara, 94

U

Upagupta, 75

V

Vaidyanātha temple inscription, 236
Vainga Gupta, 225
Vaiśāli, 6, 26, 28
Vajra, 220
Vākāṭakas, 201
Vaṃsaṭṭhappakāsinī, 40, 44, 59
Vararuchi, 46
Vāśiskha, 155
Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi, 173, 174
Vāsisthī putra Śāntamūla, I, 174
Vasubandhu, 210, 211, 221, 231
Vasumitra, 107, 144, 146, 196
Vāsudeva, 110, 159
Vatsa dynasty, 18
Vāyu Purāṇa, 92, 107, 179
Veḷuvana, 6
Vijayavarman, 199
Vinaya, 72
Vinaya Mahāvāgga, 6
Vindhya Śakti, 201
Vishṇu Purāṇa, 93, 107
Vītāśokāvadana, 66
Vogel, J. Ph., 165, 181, 189, 197, 215, 232
Voger, 153

W

Wang Hiuentśe, 211-12
Wardak vase inscription, 156, 157
Watters, 146
Wei, 110, 134
Wemakadphises, 135
Whitehead, R.B., 134

Y

Yajnāśrī Sātakarṇi, 176
Yasuvedhana, 120
Yavana, arrival of, 13
Yavana Sihadhaya, 120
Yonaka Dhammarakkhita, 87
Yona Setapathiya, 120
Yuan Chwang, 141

Z

Zeda, 149

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